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'Substantial Progress' at Nuclear Test Talks

LD3108191888 Moscow TASS in English 1914 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Geneva August 31 TASS—The delegations to the Soviet-American full-scale talks on the elimination and ultimate cessation of nuclear testing held here today the first plenary session of the new round.

The head of the Soviet delegation, Igor Palenykh, set out the Soviet side's assessment of the path traversed and made remarks concerning further advancement towards the solution of the task of limiting and ultimately ending nuclear weapon tests.

He pointed to substantial progress in the course of the talks and in implementing the first stage of the joint Soviet-American verification experiment.

He emphasised that the task of completing the coordination of a new protocol to the 1976 treaty on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes was a top-priority task for the near future.

Simultaneously, the Soviet side expressed the readiness to continue at a fast pace the coordination of improved verification measures and the elaboration of a coore-sponding protocol to the Soviet-American 1974 treaty on the limitation of underground nuclear weapon tests.

The success of the first stage of the joint experiment at Nevada test site on August 17 and the forthcoming second stage in Semipalatinsk on September 14 would make it possible to shape the final decision on the mechanism of verifying the restrictions on the nuclear tests under these treaties, complete the drafting of the corresponding protocol to the 1974 treaty and ratify these treaties.

The head of the Soviet delegation pointed out that it was important to keep the momentum that characterised the previous round of the talks so as to complete already this year work on agreeing upon the improved mechanism of verifying compliance with the 1974 and 1976 treaties and turn without delay to elaborating further restrictions on nuclear tests moving towards the final objective, that of their final termination.

ABM Review Meeting Concludes in Geneva

LD3108131788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1226 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Geneva, 31 Aug (TASS)—The meeting of representatives of the USSR and the United States for a routine, third review of the operation of the treaty limiting antiballistic missile defense systems, ended here today.

The sides discussed the state of the operation of the treaty. Advocating the consolidation of the treaty, they also drew attention to the need to resolve questions related to its implementation that cause concern for one or the other side.

The sides did not elaborate any joint documents. Each of them will publish their own appropriate statement on the results of the discussion.

Call for Naval, Air Measures at Stockholm Talks

PM3008111288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 34, 21 Aug 88 p 5

[Interview with Soviet Stockholm CSCE delegation member Major General Viktor Tatarnikov by Vladimir Nazarenko: "It Is Time To Count Aircraft And Warships"]

[Text] The Vienna meeting of 35 states—participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—is discussing the resumption of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building and Disarmament in Europe.

Soviet delegation member Major-General Viktor Tatarnikov spoke with "MN" correspondent Vladimir Nazarenko.

MN: What new confidence-building measures should be considered at the next session of the Stockholm conference?

V.T.: Confidence-building measures related to the military activities of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO land forces in Europe are being efficiently implemented. The activities of the ground-based formations have become, within certain limits, open, verifiable, and, consequently, more predictable.

But naval activities and independent air force exercises, unfortunately, remain major "blank" spots in the process of confidence-building measures and security. In fact, the navy and the air force dispose an unprecedented striking force with a vast range and high accuracy. The military activities of naval and air forces are potentially highly dangerous given preparations for delivering surprise attacks. By means of these forces the NATO states exerted military pressure on other countries, blackmailed and intimidated them, and in some cases, bombed them. Remember Libya.

Therefore the Warsaw Treaty countries and some other European states believe that it is time to monitor naval and air force activities in Europe and in the seas and oceans adjoining it, and make this activity open and predictable. I think this work should be started at the next session of the Stockholm conference.

MN: What specific confidence-building measures would this involve?

V.T.: Measures similar to those for military activities on land: to include major air force and navy war games in the annual plans of notified military activities, notification on independent naval and air force exercises and other actions exceeding certain thresholds. Naval and air force activities at sea and in the air space adjoining Europe and the landing of major troops should also be monitored. The plan should include a compulsory notification on troop and military hardware transports to Europe by sea and by air. Finally, the conference should consider the banning of naval exercises in the areas of intensive navigation and fishing; limiting naval forces, especially anti-submarine forces, in areas of international importance. It could also discuss other measures dealing with the activity of naval and air forces, including strict control, right up to inspection without the right of refusal. The spreading of these and other measures to naval and air force activities would be a timely and quite logical step, especially given Western appeals for predictable, verifiable and open approach to military sphere.

MN: For a number of years the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries have repeatedly proposed considering this problem in the framework of the European forum. Initiatives were made at the highest levels by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok, in Murmansk and Belgrade, and by Nikolay Ryzhkov in Sweden. Were these appeals and statements acted on?

V.T.: Addressing the Polish Sejm recently Gorbachev proposed withdrawing Soviet aircraft from forward-based areas in Eastern Europe, on the condition that NATO not deploy 72 American F-16 fighter-bombers in Italy. The West was actually offered a "zero option"—and flatly rejected it.

Another example. On July 25, 1988, the Soviet Governemnt, striving to solve, as soon as possible, the problem of confidence-building measures at sea, announced it would be conducting naval exercises with the Baltic Fleet on September 6-8, 1988. A total of 32 warships, aircraft and helicopters will participate. Military observers from the GDR, Poland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden and Iceland—the states directly concerned with the military and strategic situation in the Baltic—were invited. This new practical step in the history of naval activity is unprecedented, removing the veil of secrecy from the USSR naval activity. Similar steps by NATO would be very apropos.

We are hoping for reciprocity.

Hungarian, Romanian Leaders Discuss Ties

PM3108135388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 88 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In a Businesslike Atmosphere"]

[Text] Bucharest, 29 Aug—The talks between N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of Romania, and K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, which proceeded in a businesslike, constructive atmosphere, have revealed the joint desire to strengthen cooperation between the two parties and peoples, overcome the problems that have arisen in Romanian-Hungarian relations, and further develop relations of friendship and good-neighborliness.

On the completion of the talks N. Ceausescu and K. Grosz met representatives of the press. Both leaders noted that there are problems in Romanian-Hungarian relations on which there are differences of opinion. However, those aspects of relations on which the Romanian and Hungarian positions are identical or very close must be moved into the forefront of collaboration between the two parties and peoples.

Answering the question of whether Romanian and Hungarian stands on the national problem have come any closer together, N. Ceausescu said that when discussing the question of Romanian citizens of Hungarian or any other nationality we worked on the basis that the corresponding party and government must be responsible for solving these problems and that only the development of socialist building will ensure a general improvement in the living standards of the people as a whole and citizens of certain nationalities in particular.

History, K. Grosz said in his speech at the press conference, compels us to discuss many problems. We have reached an agreement to support the work of the joint history commission. We would like the joint culture commission to stimulate cultural ties and promote the development of cooperation in this sphere.

In an interview for Hungarian television and radio K. Grosz also said that during the discussion of issues connected with the program for administrative-territorial reorganization in Romania the sides reached an agreement to send a Hungarian delegation to Romania to acquaint itself on the spot with the implementation of this program—both in regions where the Hungarian national minority lives and in other territories. The Hungarian leader gave information on his proposal to hold a high-level Hungarian-Romanian meeting in 1989 to formulate the principles of national policy.

Daily on KAL 'Provocation'; Urges 'Vigilance'
PM3108142588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Aug 88 First Edition p 3

[A. Matveyev "International Notes": "Preplanned Tragedy"]

[Text] A tragedy took place in the night sky over Sakhalin 5 years ago. Having exhausted all means of forcing down a foreign aircraft that had deliberately violated Soviet airspace, our fighter plan shot it down. The aircraft failed to respond when radioed and was flying without navigation lights and with windows covered. It soon transpired that the intruder aircraft was a South Korean Airlines [KAL] Boeing 747. Literally a few hours later, the U.S. President made an angry speech accusing the Soviet Union of "contempt for human life."

Could the White House incumbent have supposed that 5 years later he would have to justify the actions of the crew of the U.S. cruiser "Vincennes," which shot down an Iranian airliner? The ship did so by day, allegedly mistaking the climbing Boeing for a diving fighter plane. And this was thousands of miles away from U.S. territory!

These two tragedies happened in different parts of the world, but they were both the result of Washington's gamble on force and the threat of force in international relations. After all, what happened in the sky over the Persian Gulf was a natural result of U.S. attempts to ensure domination in the region with the help of naval armadas. But the destruction of the South Korean Boeing aircraft was preplanned by the U.S. special services in order to give Washington a propaganda excuse to step up confrontation with the USSR and to attempt to establish its domination on an international scale with the help of modern weapons.

Despite the anti-Soviet hysteria, falsified "evidence," and specially amended radio intercepts, the true purpose of the event was clear even 5 years ago. The numerous studies subsequently carried out by Japanese, British, and U.S. experts convincingly attest that it was by no means a question of a "lost airplane" but rather a painstakingly planned espionage operation. "There is no doubt," the U.S. weekly NATION wrote, "that on the night of 31 August the entire ramified intelligence machine of the United States and its allies was placed on the highest state of alert in order to observe Soviet territory... And the South Korean aircraft was the center of attention."

Indeed, the Boeing was "guided" by several U.S. reconnaissance planes. One of these, an RC-135, maneuvered in a special way so as to ensure that Soviet radar mistook the Boeing for a military reconnaissance aircraft. The reaction of the Soviet air defense systems was monitored by all U.S. ground radar stations in the region. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that the Boeing flight was synchronized to coincide with a pass of the "Ferret-D" spy satellite.

So why did the Americans put the lives of the Boeing's passengers on the line? It was a no-lose operation—admittedly, from an inhuman standpoint. If the intruder managed to escape, highly valuable intelligence would be obtained. If it were downed, Washington would then have an excuse for a new round of the "cold war."

Today it is obvious that this provocation and the hysterical anti-Soviet campaign that was whipped up after it in 1983 ultimately harmed everyone, including the United States. After all, the salvos of insults and slander from day one soured the atmosphere of the talks on medium-range missiles then beginning in Geneva. And a question of vital importance for the future of the entire planet had to wait long months before being resolved. The Soviet and U.S. delegations are now working very hard in Geneva on a draft strategic arms reduction treaty. However, judging by everything, this work will be completed after the new incumbent arrives in the White House. And now one thinks sadly of how many valuable hours, days, and months were wasted back in 1983. They were wasted on the most senseless anti-Soviet rhetoric.

Those who organized this sinister provocation are guilty not just of killing the Boeing's passengers, but are also to blame for the fact that we are living in a far less secure world than we could be. And one other lesson that should be learned from these events is that we need vigilance now, too. After all, the forces which would like to wreck the Soviet-U.S. dialogue are also capable of new provocations and crimes.

Maslennikov Reviews Past Week's World Events
PM3108105188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[Arkadiy Maslennikov "International Review": "The World This Week"]

[Text] The kaleidoscope of events occurring in the international arena at any given moment gives an impression of chaos only at first glance. In actual fact, the world public's attention always focuses on those events which put the most dramatic construction on the basic trends of the time.

Full Circle. What Now? [subhead]

Throughout the past week the world press continued its extensive coverage of and comment on the situation in Pakistan in the wake of the death of that nation's President Ziaul Haq in an air crash.

This interest is perfectly natural, for Pakistan occupies a unique strategic position at the junction of South Asia and the Middle East. This is why the vicissitudes of this Muslim state's political development are vitally important not only for the 107 million Pakistanis themselves but also for their neighbors and for all who are interested in ensuring the peaceful, orderly, and independent development of all countries in the region.

This has become especially obvious during the last 10 years, when the Pakistani leadership headed by Ziaul Haq has started actively interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs. The Pakistani military also pursued a policy of encouraging and supporting antigovernment separatist elements in relations with another of its neighbors, India.

This course was inseparably linked with the domestic policy pursued by the Pakistani ruling clique. It is well known that Ziaul Haq, former chief of staff of the Pakistani Army, came to power in July 1977 following a military coup which overthrew Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the country's last lawfully elected prime minister. The coup was inspired by the country's dominant feudal aristocracy and financial-industrial clique, which were dissatisfied with Bhutto's progressive reforms.

Reflecting the interests of these circles, Ziaul Haq established a regime of most cruel terror against his country's progressive and democratic forces. It was under him that medieval public flogging and stoning were introduced for those breaking the "shari'ah" [Islamic legal code], as were the practices of cutting off the hands of those "encroaching upon other people's property" and of firing on workers' demonstrations. The activity of progressive political parties was paralyzed and de facto proscribed.

The transformation of Pakistan into a training base and main channel for supplying the armed detachments of the Afghan opposition had profound and diverse negative consequences for the country's political stability. Ziaul Haq's consent to serve as the tool of imperialist interference in internal Afghan affairs, coupled with his own zealous support for the most reactionary and bellicose groupings in the camps of the Afghan revolution's enemies—such as the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" headed by G. Hikmatyar—led to an influx of Afghan refugees into Pakistan, the spread of armed banditry in the country, and an almost open trade in drugs. Not a single week passed without explosions shaking Pakistan's larger cities, especially Peshawar and Karachi, or without exchanges of automatic weapons fire that the leaders of armed gangs of "implacables" and the drug mafia use to settle their accounts. All this could not have failed to generate dissatisfaction and ferment even in Army circles, where many officers were far from sharing the enthusiasm of their commander in chief for fanning disturbances in neighboring Afghanistan.

"Ziaul Haq had an ample supply of enemies at home, which made him extremely security-conscious," the U.S. weekly NEWSWEEK asserted. "Since May 29, when he dismissed Junejo, his civilian prime minister, and dissolved the National Assembly, he had not spent a single night outside his well-guarded official military residence in Rawalpindi." "For the citizens of his own country," Britain's newspaper THE GUARDIAN seconded, "this 'defender of the free world' was a cruel and hated despot who remained in power by brute force and thanks to Washington's support."

It could hardly be put more clearly. Nonetheless, now that a mixed Pakistani-U.S. commission has begun investigating the circumstances of the death of Ziaul Haq and the persons accompanying him, U.S., British, and some other press publications now and again are carrying hints that this tragic incident could not have happened without the involvement of some "foreign power" or even a "group of countries." At the same time, these commentaries persistently promote an idea verging on a direct hint that the Pakistani Army apparently "will not allow the situation to be destabilized," "will maintain the continuity of policy on the Afghan question," and "will not allow the reins of power to slip out of its hands."

The meaning of this political propaganda campaign is obvious. People in some Western countries, primarily in Washington and London, fear that under Ziaul Haq's successors, regardless of who they may be, Pakistan will cease being the obedient vector of imperialism's policy as it was in the past. The likelihood of such changes could prove especially great if the presidential elections scheduled for 16 November are actually held. The prospect of a government based on the will and support of the people coming to power obviously frightens Western strategists.

Analyzing the situation in Pakistan, many observers draw the conclusion that the country has finished with its latest round of military rule and is now on the threshold of changes which could open it to the prospects of democratic development. Whether this opportunity will materialize depends not only on the Pakistanis themselves, but to a large extent also on the Western circles which boast "special relations" with Pakistan and proclaim their commitment to "democratic values" for all the world to hear.

A Sign of the Times [subhead]

Last week witnessed yet another major step along the path toward a settlement of one of the bloodiest, most destructive, and most dangerous conflicts of recent times—the Iran-Iraq war. Following the cease-fire agreement which came into effect on 20 August, Iranian-Iraqi talks at the foreign-minister level opened in Geneva on 25 August.

The talks are being held under the auspices of the UN secretary general, and their objective is to work out an agreement which would make it possible to settle reciprocal claims and restore peace and tranquillity along the Iran-Iraq border. Speaking upon his arrival in Geneva, Iraqi delegation leader 'Aziz declared that his country sincerely desires to restore peace and that it hopes for

reciprocity from Tehran. For its part, Teheran, according to Foreign Minister Velayati, "is prepared to continue cooperating for the purpose of achieving an all-embracing, fair, honorable, and lasting settlement of disputed questions between Iran and Iraq."

Nonetheless, it is commonly held that the talks which have just started promise to be far from easy. The 8 years of war have left Iran and Iraq a legacy comprising more than just over 1 million graves, more than just the huge destruction and material losses totaling hundreds of millions of dollars. They have widened still further the gulf of reciprocal mistrust and hostility, and have complicated the already thorny problems of mutual relations between the two neighboring states, many of which are deeply rooted in history. The Geneva talks, according to the French newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS, will undoubtedly stretch into a long, drawn-out settling of accounts between Iran and Iraq.

But even so, the peace process in relations between these two countries is gathering strength. Despite the daily reciprocal accusations, UN military observers testify that the armistice is being "satisfactorily" observed and that the demarcation line between Iraq's and Iran's armed forces is "under UN control," a French newspaper asserts.

The restoration of peace along the Iran-Iraq border became possible as a result of the two countries' leaders realizing how hopeless and dangerous it would be to continue the bloodshed. Iran's and Iraq's peoples are exhausted by the war. Typically, despite the years of hostile propaganda, immediately after the cease-fire agreement took effect, there were instances of fraternization in many sectors of the Iran-Iraq front, with soldiers coming out of their trenches to exchange flowers.

An important role in ending the military operations and securing progress toward a political settlement of disputed questions between Iran and Iraq was played and continues to be played by the United Nations, and personally by Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar. UN Security Council Resolution 598, which has now been approved by both sides, and which was elaborated through collective efforts and was unanimously adopted on 20 July 1987, lays a fair and balanced foundation for the settlement of the conflict.

The pooling of efforts by the great powers and the entire world community to achieve a lasting peace and settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict is especially important at the present, highly delicate stage of this complex process. Everyone needs peace in the region. Its favorable influence will be felt not just by Iran and Iraq, but also by all neighboring states. The restoration of tranquillity will soon have a positive effect in the Persian Gulf zone, around the world, and in international economic relations. The achievement of a fair and lasting peace between Iran and Iraq, the Soviet Government statement on this question emphasizes, is becoming part and parcel of the framework of efforts to create an all-embracing system of international peace and security.

All this makes it all the more puzzling that the United States and some of its allies continue to behave in the region as if there had been and still were no peace process there, implying a duty for all states, and especially the Security Council's permanent members, to support and protect this process. Responding to correspondents' request to comment on "the USSR's call to the United States to withdraw its ships from the Persian Gulf" or to announce the U.S. response to this call, White House spokesman M. Fitzwater declared: "I have no comment on that.... No decision on the withdrawal of ships from the Persian Gulf has been made at this stage. No changes have been made in the rules of engagement."

Who Is Washington's Target? [subhead]

The trade bill signed by President Reagan last Tuesday [23 August] offers yet another example of gross disregard for the interests of other members of the world community, including Washington's closest partners and allies.

The official objective of the new law, as the White House chief declared on signing it, is to encourage "free trade" and to create "fair conditions for competition" for the United States and its partners. In fact, however, the new trade rules are designed to give the U.S. Administration additional levers in the struggle against competitors. This, in particular, is the target of the review of the import tariffs system and the elaboration of a whole package of "countermeasures" which could be applied against countries which, in Washington's opinion, resort to "unfair trade practices."

Typically, while lauding the new legislation, President Reagan himself was forced to admit its protectionist spirit. This legislative act, he declared, "will help our economy continue to grow and compete." "It will strengthen the ability of U.S. firms to protect their patented, copyrighted, or trademarked goods and ideas against international thievery." The head of the U.S. Administration also admitted that the new trade legislation "is quite likely to... lead to import levies that would be illegal under international law and inconsistent with our goal of moving toward international free trade."

The assessment of the new U.S. trade law by Washington's partners is totally unambiguous.

"This measure will only exacerbate economic contradictions," Yohei Mimura, president of the giant Mitsubishi trading corporation, declared. There was also a sharp response from government circles in the Land of the Rising Sun. At a news conference in Tokyo, Chief Cabinet Secretary Keizo Obuchi pointed out that this

document will not only have a negative effect on U.S. economic relations with Japan but that it could also create serious obstacles to the development of the world economy.

Governments and business circles in West European countries received the news of their transatlantic partner's new protectionist steps with profound concern. The EEC declared its determination "to protect its legitimate interests whenever they are threatened by the new U.S. trade law." A statement by an official EEC spokesman emphasizes that the Community must provide a unanimous and commensurate response to the emergence of U.S. protectionism.

The introduction of new trade legislation by Washington thus forebodes a new exacerbation of intraimperialist contradictions and will undoubtedly make it more difficult for Washington to accomplish its mission as self-styled "leader of the free world."

TASS Marks Founding of Nonaligned Movement

LD0109040988 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—By TASS commentator Valeriy Vavilov:

The world's nations on September 1 observe an important date, the day of the Non-aligned Movement.

The hopes of its founders—Jawaharlal Nehru, Josip Broz Tito, Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, Sukarno and Kwame Nkrumah—are materializing: the movement is becoming an international instrument for peace and security.

Its role on the international scene has grown. The movement includes more than 100 countries with different social systems, all of which cherish peace and campaign for resolving the key issues of world politics by peaceful means.

The Non-aligned Movement over the years has acquired an unprecedented dimension to become the largest general democratic international association of newly-free nations.

It involves thousands of millions of people that previously were left outside international life. They have now joined in independent historical creativity and want to forge their future themselves without outside dictation.

The new situation calls on the international community to recognize the right of every nation to choose its own destiny and manage its own resources.

In the changed world, no, not even the smallest, nation today will put up with interference and commands on the part of anybody.

It is proceeding from these facts that the Soviet Union acts, building its relations with developing countries on the basis of equality, cooperation and mutual assistance. These relations are conducive to national development, economic growth and progressive social change.

The position of the United States and other imperialist countries is different. Applying economic, political and military pressure, Washington and its closest allies attempt to split the Non-aligned Movement, weaken it and turn individual nations into puppets obediently fulfilling strangers' will.

Emphasis is on discrediting countries pursuing an anti-imperialist course. The "black list" includes India and Cuba, Nicaragua and Ethiopia, Angola and Zambia, Kampuchea, Libya and others.

The foreign ministers of non-aligned countries are going to meet in several days' time in Nicosia to try and work out effective tactics to enable these nations to counter outside pressure.

The movement will carry on the search for ways to ensure global stability and promote equal international cooperation in dealing with paramount political and economic problems, including the overriding global problem of preserving peace and staving off a nuclear Armageddon.

And the non-aligned nations are definitely able to make a considerable contribution to solving this problem.

United States & Canada

Civilian Nuclear Safety Accord Signed

LD3108205488 Moscow TASS in English 1932 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The development of American-Soviet nuclear power cooperation will undoubtedly promote consolidation of nuclear safety of civilian reactors, and will also exert a favourable impact on the USA-USSR relations.

This was stated here by Chairman of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission Lando William Zech, Junior. The head of the American delegation spoke today at the ceremony of signing a protocol on the USSR-USA cooperation in the sphere of civilian nuclear reactor safety. The document was signed from the Soviet side by Aleksandr Protsenko, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy.

Besides, signed today was a protocol of the first meeting of the joint Soviet-American coordination commission on civilian nuclear reactor safety.

An agreement to formulate a concrete programme of joint work for 1989 was reached during the meeting. The two sides agreed upon general proposals for further research in 1990. The programme will be submitted for consideration to the governments of the two countries and also to the joint Soviet-American commission on cooperation in peaceful uses of atomic energy. Its next meeting is to be held in Moscow in spring 1989.

During the visit to the USSR the members of the American delegation had an opportunity to see enterprises linked with atomic power engineering. These are the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute, the Chernobyl and Roven atomic power stations (Ukraine), the production amalgamation "Izhorskiy Zavod" in Kolpino, near Leningrad. The Soviet and American specialists were unanimous in the opinion that safe exploitation of reactors is now the key factor in approaching the problem of further utilization of atomic power engineering on a world scale.

Vorontsov, Armacost Begin Talks

LD3108164888 Moscow TASS in English 1643 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Consultations between Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov and U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Michael Armacost began at the USSR Foreign Ministry today in line with an agreement reached earlier.

In two days of consultations, the sides will discuss a broad range of regional problems with a view to facilitating the settlement of conflict situations in Afghanistan, the Middle East, Central America and southern Africa, the Iran-Iraq conflict and others.

Kornilov Responds to U.S. Charges on Afghanistan

LD3108195688 Moscow TASS in English 1918 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

The louder becomes the voice of international public demanding strict and full compliance with the Geneva accords of Afghanistan, the more active and insidious get the actions of the overt and covert opponents of a settlement, who are trying to justify the extremism of the "irreconcilables". And the U.S. State Department has joined in the unseemly campaign: Its spokesman Phyllis Oakley alleged that the Geneva accords were being violated by none other than the Soviet side. Want facts or proof? Ms. Oakley has offered none, and there aren't any. For want of these, they have resorted to various kinds of inventions around the recent events in the Afghan town of Konduz.

The substance of the events is known: Some time ago Konduz was captured by detachments of armed opposition whom some quarters in the West, above all in the USA, hastened to describe as "patriots" and "fighters for religion". And in the meantime the "irreconcilables" went on a bloody rampage in the captured town, ransacking state institutions and enterprises, stealing fuel, plundering food store-houses, cutting off the hands of popular militia officials.

The Armed Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan drove the bandits out of Konduz, the town has been liberated, and the situation there has normalized. Authoritative representatives of the population held a meeting and elected governing bodies of the Council of the National Front and of the commission on national reconciliation in the province. It would seem that one can only welcome the fact that an end has been put to the terror, plunder and rampages? But those who glorified the "feats", are now mourning their rout. And in the U.S. State Department, as we can see, they are even looking for the "breakers of the Geneva accords"...

The attempts to impute the "violations" to the Soviet Union are based on nothing and hold no water. But to state this would not be enough. The more so that, if the U.S. State Department really wanted to show concern for a strict and full compliance with the Geneva accords, it would not have, in honest truth, to go to great lengths to find the violators of the accords.

In Washington, the State Department included, they know full well that the bilateral agreement signed between Afghanistan and Pakistan on April 14 in Geneva obligates the parties to abstain from armed intervention, from assistance, encouragement or support of rebel or separatist activity, not to allow in a party's territory any training, equipping, financing and recruiting of mercenaries—and those who might get oblivious to this would be well advised to reread the fifth, the seventh, the

eighth and the twelfth paras [as received] of the above agreement. It is also an open secret that it was with the knowledge of, and, moreover, with tacit approval of Washington that all these undertakings, at least up till now, have been grossly violated by Pakistan which has caused and is still causing such things as, say, firing missiles on peaceful residential areas of Kabul or the capture and plunder of Konduz, the terror and murder of innocent people.

But officials in the State Department, who are nothing loath to talking about the need to "put an end to terrorism", pretend not to notice these things. Other things keep them busy, such as trying to actually justify the rampages and crimes which are being perpetrated in Afghanistan by terrorists equipped with U.S. weaponry and relying on support from outside, and at the same time—and without any apparent grounds, to accuse of all mortal sins all those who are working persistently and firmly to achieve a settlement of the problem and to end the bloodshed. What is the purpose of this tactics? At all events the goal is not to ensure strict compliance with the letter and spirit of the Geneva accords.

U.S. 'Manipulating' Aid to Afghan Rebels

PM0109095588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent V. Gan under the general heading: "Observing the Geneva Agreements"]

[Text] Washington, 31 Aug—Judging by reports arriving here, the United States, changing its "normal" practice of transferring weapons to Afghanistan via opposition bases in the Pakistani city of Peshawar, has decided to send the bulk of them directly to the country. THE WASHINGTON POST writes that the decision was made in May, following the conclusion of the Geneva agreements. Although Pakistan remains a supply channel and supplies are delivered, according to the newspaper, by personnel of the Pakistani intelligence service, equipment is now being delivered directlt to Afghanistan in trucks, and not secretly on mules and camels.

Evidently, it is not just a matter of increased U.S. interference in Afghan internal affairs. Presumably, by manipulating military aid, the United States is choosing the opposition group it would like to see in power in Kabul.

Be that as it may, against the background of all this the State Department's announcement that the United States has made an official protest about the violation of the Geneva agreements by... the Soviet Union sounded odd, to say the least. Judging by articles in THE WASHINGTON POST, the new overt and covert subversive operations against Afghanistan were conceived as soon as it became clear how firm the Soviet Union is in its determination to implement the Geneva accords.

U.S. Stance on Gulf Pullout 'Peculiar'

PM3108143988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Political observer Konstantin Geyvandov "Pertinent Remarks": "Peculiar Logic"]

[Text] The transfer of the Iran-Iraq armed conflict to the table of peace talks is gathering strength, and this approach toward settling crises in different areas of the world is cause for satisfaction everywhere. Of course, not least of all because continuing military conflict is fraught with the most unpredictable consequences. In one of his latest interviews, U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci noted that tendencies such as the spread of missile technology and the use of chemical weapons in the "Third World" are cause for profound concern.

For this reason it is logical to assume that attaining a fair and lasting peace between Iraq and Iran and normalizing the situation in the Persian Gulf region will constitute an integral part of the efforts to create a comprehensive system of international peace and security. Prospects would be opened up for agreeing, for example, to reduce the accumulation of arms in the region, and then it would be possible to study the possibility of implementing more far-reaching steps directed, in particular, at averting the appearance there of nuclear weapons, eliminating means of mass destruction, and strengthening mutual trust.

The question of ensuring the security and freedom of shipping in the Persian Gulf must also be resolved in a new way. At the height of the Iran-Iraq war the United States and its NATO allies counted on unilateral strong-arm actions. With the cease-fire and the beginning of peace talks between Iraq and Iran, on the one hand excuses for the presence in the Persian Gulf of the navies of states other than littoral ones are falling away and, on the other, the opportunity is opening up for a demonstration of goodwill with a view to reducing tension in the region.

For its part the Soviet Government has stated that it is willing to withdraw Soviet ships if the other states that have nothing to do with the region do the same. Moreover, the USSR's constructive proposals concerning the security of sea routes running through the Persian Gulf zone are well known. Their implementation would undoubtedly accord with the desire of the Gulf littoral countries to turn it into a zone of security, good-neighborliness, and cooperation.

What was the U.S. response to the Soviet Union's latest appeal? At a White House briefing, journalists asked M. Fitzwater, U.S. presidential assistant for press relations, to comment on the Soviet Government statement. They heard the reply that at the present stage no decision had been taken to withdraw U.S ships from the Persian Gulf.... and their rules of engagement had not changed. It further transpires from what he said that, even if lasting

peace and security do become established in the region, it will be possible to count at best only on a reduction in the U.S. military presence there.

A peculiar logic for our time, to say the least!

PRAVDA Views Bush, Dukakis Campaigns

PM3108111988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA political observer Gennadiy Vasilyev "Viewpoint": "United States: What's the Choice?"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The U.S. election campaign has entered its final lap. The two parties' conventions are in the past. The contenders for the country's presidency and vice presidency have been nominated and the election platforms accepted. Thus, it is Republican George Bush against Democrat Michael Dukakis. On the scale of U.S. politics the former is deemed a centrist who has made marked improvements during his two terms of office in the ranks of the rightist Republican administration. The latter is a liberal, who nonetheless gravitates toward the "golden mean." Bush has behind him his career as a congressman, head of the U.S. communications mission in Beijing, director of the CIA, and, last, the country's vice president. Dukakis' service record is more modest. It is confined to the governorship of Massachusetts.

If we go by standard assessments, Bush's chances look more promising. The good state of the country's economy and the fall in inflation and unemployment work in his favor (although in the long term U.S. economic prospects are extremely alarming). The positive amendments made by the Reagan administration to policy toward the Soviet Union, in particular the conclusion of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, also appear likely to help him. However, public opinion polls show that the situation is unstable: First one contender is in the lead, then the other. Political observers point out that a desire for change and the peculiar American "weariness" with the 8-year rule of the right-wing Republicans, with their stress on enriching the rich and on bellicose rhetoric, are also taking their toll.

"The American votes with his pocketbook"—I often heard this when I worked as a correspondent in the United States. Material considerations—taxes, prices, wages, and the possibility of finding suitable work—were indeed always at the top of the U.S. voter's list of priorities. Foreign policy was a secondary consideration. The same is also true today. Nonetheless I think that questions of foreign policy, above all those associated with the arms race and the state of Soviet-U.S. relations, could hold a considerably more substantial place in this year's election than before.

Election promises and the winning candidate's real policy are not one and the same thing. Nonetheless, since there are no other guidelines, you have to sift through the candidates' speeches if you want to picture the future administration's possible policy.

Both contenders for the White House job have frequently expressed support for the process of improving Soviet-U.S. relations. They have invariably spoken approvingly of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and promised to go further toward reducing the two countries' nuclear arsenals. However, they have many differences in their overall philosophy on foreign policy and on individual issues. Bush constantly stresses that successful talks with the Soviet Union are only possible from a "position of strength" and is eager to modernize and deploy new arms systems. It seems that the U.S. vice president acts constantly with a backward glance at the right flank of his party, at the people who played a great role in Reagan's victory in 1980 and who are in no rush to acknowledge Bush as "their man." Dukakis believes that a quest for mutually acceptable solutions is the real basis for further steps along the path of curbing the arms race. He opposes the U.S. creation of the "Midgetman" mobile ICBM and advocates limited deployment of the MX missiles. Their divergent attitudes toward SDI are also striking. Whereas Bush is totally in favor of the "Star Wars" program, Dukakis would like to halt all work, apart from scientific work, on the program.

The policy of the new U.S. Administration will only begin to assume real outlines next year when the new president and cabinet secretaries have taken their seats in their offices and when a considerably renewed U.S. Congress meets. The objective conditions prevailing in the world today are facilitating the positive development of international relations. The important undertaking of the last 3 years gives hope of success in the future and insistently demands the continuation of constructive Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

Republican Platform Shows Lack of 'Enlightenment'

PM3108154588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by Melor Sturua under the rubric "Publicist's Remarks": "Something on Enlightenment"]

[Text] A few days ago THE WASHINGTON POST published an editorial in which my attention was drawn to the following phrase: "Although Americans can hope that Moscow's enlightenment will be advantageous to them, their first task nonetheless is to ensure that they themselves behave in an enlightened manner."

The newspaper editorial was devoted to the Republican Convention in New Orleans and the election party platform adopted there. One cannot fail to agree with THE WASHINGTON POST that the convention in

New Orleans clearly lacked enlightenment. Of course, I am not referring to the carnival atmosphere, but the substance of the convention, which was permeated with the old political thinking.

Regarding the platform, it says that Republican foreign policy "relies on three main planks: strength, realism, and dialogue." It becomes clear, however, that there are only two "planks"—the strength and messianism of the United States. In the platform's introductory note the United States is proclaimed as "mankind's last and brightest hope on earth." And the final note sounds like this: "In formulating our foreign policy and our policy in the defense sphere, we must never lose sight of the unique leading role that the United States plays in the world community. No other country in the world can take on this role."

Yes, Moscow is obviously overtaking Washington on the question of enlightenment. We do not consider ourselves to be the center of the universe, and hereto we are displaying the principle of reasonable sufficiency instead of insufficient reason and, of course, modesty. It is not without reason that the Soviet Union has made greater progress from Stalin to Gorbachev than the United States has made from Roosevelt to Reagan. It can even be said, while taking into account the "specifics," or to be more precise the obvious inadequacy of the starting points and not forgetting modesty, that the essence of the dynamics is grasped correctly here.

Talk about "uniqueness," the "leading role," and "mankind's last and brightest hope" is not simply election rhetoric (not for nothing can these things be heard in everyday life). This talk serves as ideological backing and justification for U.S. strong-arm policy.

Just recently we received two examples of the direction in which Washington's "planks" are laid. The first example is the White House statement containing accusations against the Soviet Union issued on the threshold of the meeting in Geneva between Soviet and U.S. representatives to examine the ABM Treaty. The second example is the U.S. State Department report entitled "Global Terrorism in 1987," which claims that responsibility for more than half of all the terrorist acts in the world last year lay with the Afghan Government and with the Soviet Union, which "assisted it" in this.

Both these maneuvers by Washington are linked by their groundlessness, their construction on the principle of inversion, and their reliance on the ignorance of the international public. It is not surprising that the topics of antiballistic missiles and international terrorism are resolved in a similar vein in the Republican program.

Apparently, the task of behaving in an enlightened manner is by no means resolved on the banks of the Potomac.

China

Qian Qichen Calls for Sino-Soviet Summit

OW0109083888 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] In an article on the international situation published by QIUSHI journal, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen pointed out: There has been a strong tendency for dialogue on international affairs in recent years. Relations between the Soviet Union and the United States have improved, and the INF Treaty has been signed, which is something that needs to be pointed out in particular.

Touching on Sino-Soviet relations, Qian Qichen indicated that China and the Soviet Union have held 12 rounds of political consultations and are currently holding talks on border issues. He emphasized that the Chinese side has consistently called for normalizing Sino-Soviet relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the elimination of existing obstacles. He advocated a Sino-Soviet summit, stressing that efforts should be made to create the appropriate conditions and atmosphere.

Northeast Asia

DPRK-ROK Parliamentarians' Contacts Welcomed

PM3108155388 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 30 Aug 88 p 3

[Sergey Kukhar "Commentator's Opinion": "Panmunjom, August"]

[Text] Preliminary talks between representatives of the DPRK and South Korea were held in the settlement of Panmunjom on the Military Demarcation Line that divides the Korean peninsula. Their aim is to prepare for a North-South interparliamentary conference.

The current dialogue in Panmunjom became possible in many respects due to the constructive initiative submitted by Pyongyang. This consists mainly of a letter from the chairman of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly Standing Council to the chairman of South Korea's National Assembly. Inter alia, this letter proposed including on the agenda of the upcoming interparliamentary meeting the discussion of a joint declaration of nonaggression and of problems linked with organizing the 1988 summer Olympics.

Judging by the results of the meeting in Panmunjom or—more precisely—judging by the DPRK delegation's assessment of them, the South Korean side has not yet shown a readiness to reach accords. Nevertheless, talks have taken place, and there will be a new round of talks in the future—in October. It became known that the

DPRK proposed a draft agreement for a meeting on the 38th parallel. By and large, the information coming from Panmunjom is quite sparse, and that is why no hasty conclusions must be drawn.

All the same, the very fact of such contacts must be regarded positively. The resumption of inter-Korean dialogue after quite a long time promises its participants not only propaganda laurels. A reasonable compromise could bring palpable advantages for the entire Korean people, especially a reduction in tension on the Korean peninsula.

Vorotnikov Greets Officials, Japanese Governors

PM3108134188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Greetings message from V. Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers: "To the Participants in the 10th Meeting of Chairmen of USSR Kray and Oblast Soviet Ispolkoms and Japanese Governors"; date and place of message not given]

[Text] The RSFSR Council of Ministers greets the participants in the 10th meeting of chairmen of USSR kray and oblast soviet ispolkoms and Japanese governors.

I would like to express confidence that the main focus at the 10th meeting in Moscow will be devoted to deepening mutual understanding between the Soviet and Japanese peoples, and that your meeting will make a contribution to the development of good-neighborly relations between the Soviet Union and Japan.

The RSFSR Government hopes that the top representatives of Soviet and Japanese local administrations gathered in Moscow will find ways of deepening cooperation in the most varied spheres, including the sphere of mutually advantageous trade and economic relations.

The meeting could play a positive role in possibly pooling efforts aimed at strengthening security in the Far East and Pacific region, and in maintaining international peace as a whole. The new political thinking which is becoming a determining factor in modern political life opens up broad opportunities for this.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers wishes success to the participants in the 10th meeting of chairmen of USSR kray and oblast soviet ispolkoms and Japanese governors in Moscow.

[Signed] V. Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers

Southeast Asia & Pacific

SRV's Nguyen Co Thach on Cambodian Settlement

LD3108181088 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Hanoi August 31 TASS—The announcement about withdrawal of 50,000 Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea, the results of the informal meeting in Jakarta, and also realities of the situation inside and around the People's Republic of Kampuchea open up prospects for settlement of the Kampuchean problem in a not far off future. This was stated in a VIETNAM NEWS AGENCY interview by deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Foreign Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Nguyen Co Thach.

There are now, he said, three versions of settlement in the region: first, a comprehensive settlement of both the internal and external aspects of the Kampuchean problem, second, a partial solution of, initially, international and then the internal aspect, and, third, Vietnam's withdrawal of all its troops from Kampuchea by the year of 1990 without any political settlement. Advancement toward peace largely depends on the other side.

All parties concerned in general agree that the dates of full withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops should be linked with termination of arms deliveries to opposition Khmer groups and interference from outside into Kampuchea's internal affairs. Differences between the opposing sides as to the dates of withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from the People's Republic of Kampuchea are insignificant and can be resolved through negotiations. All the parties concerned unanimously hold that independence, neutrality and non-alignment should be the status of Kampuchea in the future.

All the states should respect the accords reached by the Khmer sides. In that question there are many complex elements that are difficult to realise in full. Therefore, solution of, initially, international aspect and then the internal aspect looks most real, said the Vietnamese foreign minister. Attainment of Kampuchean settlement will promote establishment of peace, development of friendship and cooperation in South East Asia in the interests of all peoples of the region, he said.

All the countries should respect the Kampuchean people's right to self-determination, primarily their right to live without the threat of recurrence of the Pol Pot genocide regime. As to the future government of Kampuchea, this question should be resolved by the Kampuchean people themselves in the course of the general elections to be held under international control and without interference from outside, said Nguyen Co Thach.

Demichev Meets With PRK's Chea Sim 26 Aug

PM3108124488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting in the Kremlin"]

[Text] A meeting took place in the Kremlin on 26 August between P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Chea Sim, member of the KPRP [Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the PRK National Assembly, who was in the Soviet Union on a working visit as a special representative of Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP Central Committee and the KPRP Central Committee Politburo.

During the talk, which took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and comradeship, P.N. Demichev told the Cambodian guest about the Soviet people's efforts to implement the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) plenum, which gave concrete form to the party's course of implementing a radical economic reform and democratizing all aspects of Soviet society's life.

It was stated that for Soviet people restructuring is inseparable from the establishment of the new political thinking in international affairs. This is embodied in practice in the Soviet Union's position on the most important problems of strengthening peace and security, resolving regional conflicts, and developing interstate relations.

In this context, particular attention was devoted to the Cambodia situation. Chea Sim discussed the activity of the KPRP and the PRK working people to implement the policy of national reconciliation and resolve the complex problems that face the country. He drew attention to the importance, for further progress toward settling the problem, of the results of the informal meeting in Indonesia, in the course of which quadripartite talks were held for the first time between Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, and the leaders of the opposition Khmer groupings with the participation, in the second stage, of representatives of two groups of Southeast Asian states—Indochina and ASEAN.

The sides expressed the common opinion that the meeting was a new step in the direction of a political settlement of the Cambodia problem and a stage in the development of dialogue with a view to finding solutions that will meet the Cambodian people's aspirations and promote the normalization of the Southeast Asian situation.

The productivity of the informal meeting in Indonesia was promoted by the initiatives of the PRK, Laos, and the other participants and the increased realism in the approach to the Cambodian question on the part of the countries involved.

P.N. Demichev stressed that the Soviet Union supports any constructive efforts aimed at strengthening and developing the results of the Bogor meeting and promoting the deepening of positive processes in a Cambodian settlement and its immediate transfer to a plane of practical decisions. For its part, the USSR is ready, together with all interested states, to contribute to the positive development of the process of settling the Cambodia situation.

An integral part of the broad spectrum of Soviet-Cambodian relations is interparliamentary ties, which are consistently gaining ever-greater dynamism and intensiveness. The sides expressed the mutual desire to steadily develop all aspects of these in the interests of strengthening friendship between the fraternal peoples of the two countries.

The interlocutors also exchanged opinions about the state of relations between the USSR and the PRK and prospects for further strengthening them. Satisfaction was expressed with the present level of cooperation between the two countries in various spheres, and the existence of good potential for its further expansion was noted.

Further Reportage on Burmese Strike, Protests

Role of 'Mass Movements' Viewed

BK3108112088 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] According to news reports, mass movements are continuing in Burma. Staff workers from more than 120 government departments and offices announced they have set up a general strike committee. The committee will soon organize mass movements to demand democracy and a multiparty system.

Meanwhile, Rangoon radio has appealed to the monks and the people to help end the rail strike. The disruption of rail services has halted the distribution of basic foodstuffs and consumer goods to the people, and prices have spiraled.

Government administrative and party organs have stopped functioning in many of Burma's cities and regions. Mass committees have taken charge of administering social needs.

Meanwhile, mass and political organizations are actively being set up in the country. The most prominent of them all is the League for Democracy and Peace, under the patronage of former Prime Minister U Nu. A students union and a young monks organization have also been established.

The ruling Burma Socialist Program Party, however, is making preparations for an extraordinary congress that is being convened to discuss a national referendum on a multiparty system.

Government 'Loses Control'

PM3108102788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Burma: Government Loses Control"]

[Text] Tokyo, 30 Aug—According to reports from Burma, the central government has lost control of 16 cities, including major ones such as Mandalay, Sagayng, Minbu, Magwe, and Moulmein. Temporary bodies are in charge there, with their members including Buddhist monks, representatives of local residents, and also police officers who have declared their support for the opposition.

Participants in the mass demonstrations continuing in various cities are demanding the establishment of a transitional government. Statements published by the opposition stress that a delay of the referendum promised by the authorities on the question of changing the existing one-party system will complicate even more the rapidly deteriorating situation.

According to a report from the Bangkok correspondent of MAINICHI, for the first time in 26 years the establishment of an opposition party has been announced in Rangoon. Its declared aim is to "achieve national tranquillity and the building of a political system on a multiparty basis." The new party, called the "Peace and Democracy Organization," is headed by U Nu, who was prime minister of the country prior to the 1962 coup led by Ne Win.

According to official sources, 75 people have been killed and 154 injured as a result of a wave of riots in Burmese jails in recent weeks. Some 2,300 people have escaped from jails, and over 1,000 people have been released by order of the authorities.

Commentary on 'State of Crisis'

BK0109090188 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Aleksandr Vladimirov Commentary]

[Text] Residents of Rangoon yesterday came out in the streets of the city under a heavy downpour. The state of crisis is clearly visible in the appearance of the Burmese capital. The people organized themselves to place gates fashioned out of bamboo across the roads in many places for orderly movement of traffic. It has been learned that administration is now in the hands of people's committees in almost 20 major towns. The committees are in charge of law and order and the distribution of food supplies.

However, in many areas of the country there are signs of anarchy. Because the strikes brought the transportation system to a total standstill, the most serious problem is getting needed food supplies to the people, for new food supplies failed to arrive. Hence, the government has appealed by radio to the people and religious organizations to help stop the strikes in the railroad sector. Due to these strikes, the food situation in the country has become critical and prices have become exorbitant.

Will the new general strike committee be able to organize the strike systematically? Even an observer who is in touch with events in Burma cannot tell whether the general program of economic and political reforms can be carried out in view of the people's movements in towns.

According to one observer, it is likely that the League for Democracy and Peace established on Monday will carry out these tasks. News agency commentaries have described this organization as the first opposition party in Burma in the last 26 years. Prime Minister U Nu had agreed to act as a patron of the organization. U Nu, who returned from abroad in 1980, had pledged not to enter politics but rather to pursue religion. However, his agreement to act as an advisor to the leadership of the the League for Democracy and Peace makes him appear to politically endorse the organization.

Demands for economic reforms are being made simultaneously with demands for political reforms. The nature of the country's economic problems calls for immediate implementation of economic reforms. Burma owes a total debt of $3 billion to Western banks, and this is to be repaid with high interest. This year's debt repayment of $300 million alone will use up all the proceeds from exports.

Under these circumstances, it is difficult to wage a struggle to reduce the price of rice and other foodstuffs. Hence, no organization can enhance its prestige without offering solutions to Burma's basic economic problems.

One wonders what kind of reform program the opposition will offer in place of the reforms presented by U Aye Ko at the last party congress of the Burma Socialist Program Party [BSPP]. Meanwhile, 12 September is fast approaching. The Lanzin [BSPP] Party's emergency congress is scheduled for that day, and it is to discuss the issue of holding a national referendum on whether a one-party or multiparty system is preferable. The party Central Executive Committee has shown its support for holding the referendum. Currently, a special commission is studying public opinion.

Observers in Rangoon believe that the questions raised above will be answered in a few days.

Leaders' 'Errors' Noted

BK3108123088 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Anatoliy Aleksandrov commentary: "Difficult Days for Burma"]

[Text] One after another, different strata of Burmese society have come out to join the swelling ranks of the mass movements in the country. Workers, public servants, monks, traders, lawyers, doctors, and the other people are taking part in the demonstrations and mass rallies. These people are demanding the installation of a government based on a multiparty system and the restoration of democracy. These people are forcefully demanding immediate reforms and have rejected the government's offer to hold a national referendum on changes to the political system.

Because the situation is uncontrollable, in many cities regional organs of power have been resigning, and mass committees have replaced them. Well-known former politicians have also set up the League for Democracy and Peace. The establishment of the League, which is headed by former Prime Minister U Nu, was announced by former President U Win Maung. The League announced it will do everything possible to resolve the nation's problems.

The way the crisis developed demonstrates the profundity of the effect that the errors committed by the authorities and the prevailing general hardships have on the minds of the people.

As Thakin Chit Maung [politician and member of the League for Democracy and Peace] pointed out some 20 years ago, waging a revolution is never as easy as laying a carpet down on even ground. In the same way as hardships are unavoidable, there will also be ups and downs in a revolution. It is important to make an analytical study of these hardships and the ups and downs, and to avoid replacing organizational efforts that should be carried out by the masses with commands and bureaucracy.

Although the state leaders understood this, they were unable to avoid it. The evils of bureaucracy have remained in Burma for many years. The state machinery, with a highly centralized control of the economy, started to hamper even the progress of the productive forces. Domestic markets were restricted, and materially, the peasants started losing interest. This gave rise to corruption, smuggling, and a thriving blackmarket.

The difficulties worsened as a result of the deteriorating situation in foreign markets. Many capitalist countries subsidized their farmers, causing the price of rice to decline. Although Burma was able to increase its rice exports, the income generated did not increase. This resulted in difficulties for the government in importing fertilizer, spare parts for farm equipment and other machinery, fuel, and consumer goods. Moreover, prices of Burma's other export commodities also declined in world markets. For instance, although Burma increased its teak and mineral exports, earnings from these were lower than before. The nation's foreign debt thus grew as a result.

Today, each Burmese citizen owes about $100 in foreign debt. This is in a situation in which per capita income is only about $200. There is yet another factor which is aggravating the already bad situation: a lack of peace in the country has also affected the people's standard of living. Defense spending—which is nonproductive spending—consumes roughly one-third of Burma's budget each year. Manpower and natural resources are being wasted because of the war against separatist insurgents.

That all these factors have come to the fore at the same time is natural, and it is a general task for a society to resolve such problems. The present crisis in the country is but a reflection of the efforts to find in many different ways a solution that would enable Burma to free itself from difficulties.

Near East & South Asia

Gerasimov Discusses Afghan Military Situation

Denies Soviet Konduz 'Violations'

LD3108155688 Moscow TASS in English 1511 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The Soviet Union is implementing its commitments under the Geneva accords, and the charges of violations of these accords by it are groundless, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Directorate of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing today.

He commented on a statement by Phyllis Oakley, a State Department spokesman, alleging that the Soviet Union has violated the Geneva accords on the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan by supporting the Afghan side in repelling the attack on the town of Konduz by armed detachments of anti-government forces, using combat aircraft and helicopters in the process. The events in Konduz, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said, came as a direct result of the continuing violation of the Geneva accords and of the armed interference from the Pakistani territory in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Breaking into Konduz, the detachments of armed opposition murdered civilians, plundered and destroyed homes. They captured hostages and took about 200 schoolgirls from the town. In this connection, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed, urgent measures were required to save the town and innocent lives.

Besides, during that time there were still some small military units and Soviet civilians in the area of the town of Konduz, whose evacuation had yet to be completed.

Replying to journalists' questions, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman added that planes based in the USSR were used in the Konduz area with the Afghan Government's consent to provide urgent support for a Soviet military unit conducting combat operations against superior forces of the armed opposition.

The tragic developments in Konduz, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said, have shown where the outside encouragement of the opposition forces operating in Afghanistan can lead. The duty of the United States as a guarantor of compliance with the Geneva accords is to contribute to implementation by the parties of their commitments under the accords. There might not have been such events in Konduz if the United States had exerted corresponding influence on the Pakistani leadership with a view to suppressing the interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and ending the fratricidal war.

Notes U.S., Chinese 'Advisers'

LD3108165488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Excerpt] A briefing on current international issues was held today at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. Gerasimov, chief of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, addressed Soviet and foreign journalists and paid great attention to the Afghanistan situation. In particular, he said that by mid-August Afghanistan had sent 69 notes pointing out 404 violations of the Geneva accords by Pakistan. The maneuvers by the alliance of seven to set up a so-called transitional government on Pakistani territory represented a crude violation of the Geneva accords by Pakistan. In Pakistan, a center for training detachments of insurgents and saboteurs has not been eliminated. Approximately 150 citizens of the United States and China currently live in the Pakistani town of Dir. They are military advisers who went there to provide assistance to the Afghan opposition. [passage omitted]

Kabul Sends Letter to UN on Ministers Meeting

LD3108180988 Moscow TASS in English 1746 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 31 TASS—Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil has sent a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar, proposing a meeting of the foreign ministers of Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Soviet Union and the United States.

The Geneva agreements crowning many years of stubborn work, he said, should be honored in full and without any conditions.

Afghanistan, its foreign minister continued, has been fulfilling all the documents signed in Geneva in good faith because they are the legal and political foundation for a settlement.

The Afghan side has provided every possibility for the U.N. mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan to do its work. In keeping with the Geneva package, 50 percent of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan have been returned home by August 15.

Far from having stopped interference in Afghan affairs, as envisaged by the agreements, Pakistan, by contrast, has only stepped it up even further, the letter said.

By today, as many as 73 Afghan Foreign Ministry notes have been handed to the U.N. mission, reporting a total of 421 agreement violations by the Pakistani side.

The Republic of Afghanistan has stressed more than once that the Geneva agreements are not unilateral ones and must be observed by all the signatories.

"We hope," the letter said, "that the new Pakistani Government, realizing the need for an aboveboard approach to the international agreements signed by the country, will take steps towards improving relations between the two neighboring Muslim states and normalizing the situation in the region as a whole."

The letter said Afghanistan suggests holding a meeting of the foreign ministers of Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Soviet Union and the United States with the participation of the U.N. secretary-general, which will be devoted to the problems of realizing the Geneva agreements.

"We are positive that this meeting will not only lend a fresh impulse to the accords' realization but will also facilitate better mutual understanding between the countries that have signed the Geneva documents," the Afghan foreign minister added.

Afghanistan has already sent similar proposals to the countries concerned. Cooperation on the part of the U.N. secretary-general in getting the meeting convened as soon as possible will make a positive contribution to putting an end to bloodletting, the letter said.

BAKHTAR news agency reported that letters proposing such a meeting have been sent also to the foreign ministers of Pakistan, the Soviet Union and the United States.

Pakistan Supplying Afghan Uranium to Israel

WA18070214 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 11 Aug 88 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Afghan Uranium for the Israeli Bomb?"]

[Text] Members of the antigovernment group of G. Hikmatyar have been extracting uranium ore, discovered in the northern provinces of Afghanistan, and exporting it to Pakistan, from where, according to eyewitnesses, it has been sent to Israel.

Some analysts think that deliveries of uranium ore to Pakistan evidently began in 1986, when U.S. "Stinger" antiaircraft missiles began to be supplied through Pakistan to the Islamic Party of Afghanistan (IPA), headed by G. Hikmatyar. At that time, a certain Amir [Akbar]—leader of one of the groups of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan, which entered, with the IPA, into the "Alliance of Seven" of Afghan antigovernment parties—stated that uranium ore is being supplied to "Israel, the enemies of Muslims."

It is possible that Pakistani authorities, attempting to create their own atomic bomb, decided to send nuclear raw materials to Israel in exchange for technology on building weapons of mass destruction. Significantly, Israel has practiced an analogous form of cooperation over the course of many years in its relations with the RSA: in exchange for arms and technical assistance, Tel Aviv receives from Pretoria uranium, which is essential for the production of an atomic bomb.

The Israelis have achieved notable successes in the field of nuclear technology. The magazine DER SPIEGEL wrote that as early as 1973, Israeli physicists Yitzhak Nebenthal and Menachem Levin, financed by the Israeli Defense Ministry, obtained in the FRG a patent for a completely new method of enriching uranium with the aid of laser beams. This technology could be fully used in three existing centers in Pakistan which have at their disposal the means for creating nuclear weapons—the nuclear facilities in Kahuta, Sihala, and the secret laboratory New Labs—especially if you consider information which has been revealed that the Pakistanis have encountered significant difficulties in enriching uranium to the consistency required for creating an atomic bomb.

If deliveries of uranium ore to Israel did, in fact, begin in 1986, then Pakistani President Ziaul Haq's appeal, made in that year, to all Arab countries to recognize Israel if they had not already done so becomes quite clear. Apparently, the nuclear partnership required joint action in the foreign policy arena.

The Afghan antigovernment groups who directly extracted the uranium ore did not lose out. In January 1987, the Lebanese newspaper AL-NAHAR, alluding to information received from U.S. sources, reported that Israel, with part of the credits granted it by the United States, gave the opposition the newest weapons of its own manufacture. Thus, the leadership of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, in attempting to possess its own nuclear weapons, and representatives of Afghan extremists, who call themselves "fighters for the faith" in need of modern arms, in point of fact concluded an alliance with Israeli Zionists—the main enemies of the Muslim world. As a result of this deal, Tel Aviv received raw materials which are necessary for restocking its own nuclear arsenal and which primarily threaten its Islamic neighbors.

Acting Pakistani Head Discusses Afghan Policy

PM3108132788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Situation in Pakistan"]

[Text] Islamabad, 27 Aug—Acting head of state Ghulam Ishaq Khan spoke on national radio and television yesterday, the last day of the 10-day mourning period observed in Pakistan in connection with the death of Pakistani President Ziaul Haq in an air crash. He affirmed the government's resolve to hold general elections on 16 November in a peaceful atmosphere and strictly in conformity with the country's Constitution. The acting president gave assurances that there will be no deviations from the Constitution during the transfer of power following the elections.

He noted his desire to fully cooperate with Pakistani political leaders, expressed the hope that his efforts would be supported by the nation during the current "critical stretch of the path to democracy," and spoke in favor of resolving all political problems by democratic means and ethnic and religious problems on the basis of mutual understanding and tolerance.

Ghulam Ishaq Khan affirmed the government's resolve to aim for a final solution to the Afghan question in conformity with Pakistan's principled stand and the provisions of the Geneva agreements.

Former Pakistani Premier Supports Geneva Accords

LD3108134588 Moscow TASS in English 1300 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Islamabad August 31 TASS—Muhammad Khan Junejo, Pakistan's former prime minister and leader of the Pakistan Muslim League, has voiced full support for the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

In an interview with the private Pakistani news agency PPI, he said that the Afghan people should be given an opportunity to form their own government after holding elections in a free, fair and impartial atmosphere without any foreign interference.

Junejo emphasized that the Geneva accords should be practically implemented by all the parties concerned.

Rogachev Receives Outgoing Pakistani Envoy

PM3108124688 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, received Shahid M. Amin, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, on 25 August in connection with his final departure.

New Pakistani Ambassador Arrives

LD3108145988 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Pakistan's ambassador, Abdus Sattar, arrived in Moscow today.

Supreme Soviet Presidium Greets Al-Qadhdhafi

LD3108215788 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow September 1 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet today congratulated the revolutionary leadership and the people of Libya on the occasion of the country's national holiday, 19th revolution anniversary, observed on September 1.

"The victory of the September revolution," said the message addressed to the Libyan leader, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi "opened up wide prospects for Libya's development along the path of progressive social, economic and political changes in the interests of the broad masses.

"Over the past years, the Libyan people have accomplished major successes in strengthening national independence and upheld their right to an independent role in international life.

"In this noble cause, your country has always encountered support and solidarity from the Soviet Union."

The message expressed confidence that friendly relations and fruitful cooperation between the USSR and Libya would further develop for the benefit of the peoples in the two countries, in the interests of building a nuclear-free and non-violent world.

Kuwait's Gen al-Sani' Departs for Leningrad

LD3108201388 Kuwait KUNA in English 1640 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow, Aug 31 (KUNA)—Chief of Staff of Kuwaiti Armed Forces Major General Mizyad al-Sani' and the accompanying delegation left here today for Leningrad. He was seen off by Chief of General Staff of Soviet Armed Forces Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, Kuwaiti ambassador to Soviet Union and a number of Soviet and Kuwaiti officials. After touring the second largest Soviet city, Leningrad, Al-Sani' is to leave for the Republic of Uzbekistan on Sept 2 where he is scheduled to visit a number of Islamic sites.

In Moscow the Kuwaiti military delegation visited two Soviet air bases and attended an air show. Ambassador 'Abd al-Mohsen al-Du'ayj held a reception yesterday in honour of Al-Sani' and the accompanying delegation.

Akhromeyev on Arms for Kuwait

LD3108200788 Kuwait KUNA in English 1650 GMT 31 Aug 88

[By Adib al-Sayyid]

[Text] Moscow, Aug 31 (KUNA)—Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev Wednesday said Moscow would "consider" any specific arms purchase request by Kuwait and indicated the response would be "positive."

The Soviet military leader, meanwhile, praised the defense capabilities of Kuwait, saying its Armed Forces had (?succeeded in) defending the country's sovereignty and independence "during the critical phase of the Iran-Iraq war."

Akhromeyev was talking to KUNA and the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-ANBA', after seeing off Kuwaiti Army Chief of Staff Major General Mizyad al-Sani', who flew to Leningrad.

Responding to a question, the marshal said military cooperation between Kuwait and Moscow was chiefly based on firm ties between the two countries.

"As our two countries are pursuing a policy of peace, co-existence and non-aggression it has been possible for them to cooperate in military areas though we belong to different economic and social systems."

Akhromeyev described the visit here by the Kuwaiti Armed Forces chief of staff as (?"useful,") adding that it was a good opportunity for the two military leaders to better know each other.

The visit also provided a high level military contact between the two countries, he added.

He said Major General al-Sani' had invited him to visit Kuwait and the Soviet military leader expressed hope "that a Soviet military delegation would visit Kuwait at a later time" to help strengthen links between the two countries.

The Soviet official said his talks with the Kuwaiti chief of staff dealt with forms of military cooperation between Kuwait and Moscow but noted that no military agreement had been signed during Al-Sani"s stay in (?Moscow).

Asked to comment on tensions in the Middle (?East), Akhromeyev said war in the Gulf had stopped and efforts now are aimed at consolidating peace in the region.

He repeated his country's conviction that foreign naval presence in the Arab Gulf "cannot be useful."

On another hotbed of Middle East tension, the Soviet marshal said he believed there was now a state of military equilibrium between Israel and Syria.

Daily Views Start of Iran-Iraq Geneva Talks

PM3108121088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA press service report: "Talks Begin"]

[Text] Direct talks have begun between Iran and Iraq in Geneva's Palais des Nations under the auspices of UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. The Iranian delegation is headed by 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian foreign minister, and the Iraqi delegation by Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign minister.

On Thursday morning the UN secretary general held separate meetings with the heads of the sides' delegations to discuss procedural matters. Plenary sessions are to be held later.

Pointing out that the basis for the talks is UN Security Council Resolution 598, REUTER highlights three main problems around which "fierce debates" are anticipated. There is the question of specifically where the border between the countries should be, the drafting of an agreement on the exchange of prisoners, because the sides differ in their estimates of the numbers of soldiers taken prisoner, and also Tehran's expected demand for Baghdad to pay it "vast" reparations.

Declaring Iran's readiness for talks, 'Ali Akbar Velayati stressed that his country is prepared to "continue cooperation with a view to achieving a comprehensive, just, honorable, and lasting settlement of disputed issues" with Iraq. He said that the Iranian side is setting no preliminary conditions for the talks, nor does it acknowledge Iraq's right to set such conditions. Tehran also regards the observance of the cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front as successful on the whole.

At the same time, according to Tehran radio, President Khamene'i has called on Iranian troops to remain vigilant, so as to "react to any possible enemy sortie in the period of the talks."

Tariq 'Aziz told journalists on his arrival in Geneva on the eve of the talks that Iraq sincerely seeks to restore peace with Iran and hopes for reciprocity on the part of Tehran.

However, despite the commencement of talks and the sides' official statements of their readiness to achieve a settlement of the conflict, Iran and Iraq, observers note, are still continuing their propagandist "war of words." Thus France's LE MONDE reports that in a letter to the UN secretary general, Tehran accused Baghdad of violating the cease-fire agreement and preparing to attack. Iraq, in turn, has claimed that Iran has stationed additional troop subunits on the central sector of the front.

Another French newspaper, LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS, in analyzing prospects for the talks, believes that they "will undoubtedly turn into a very prolonged settling of scores" between the sides. One possible reason for this, in the view of observers, is that "the Iranians, who have suffered a series of crushing defeats since April, intend to transform them into a 'diplomatic victory.'" In the opinion of London's THE TIMES, the talks will be "exceptionally difficult."

The start of the talks coincided with another event that has a direct bearing on the Iran-Iraq conflict. On Thursday a report prepared by UN experts was submitted to Security Council members. The document concludes that the Iraqi side used chemical weapons in early August against the population of a small Iranian city. According to Tehran's figures, 2,680 civilians, including women and children, are now in the hospital after several attacks in which the Iraqi Air Force employed mustard gas.

U.S. Response to Gulf Pullout Appeal Condemned

PM3108142788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Political observer Konstantin Geyvandov "Pertinent Remarks": "Peculiar Logic"]

[Text] The switch in the Iran-Iraq armed conflict to peace talks over a table is gathering strength, and this approach toward settling crises in different areas of the world is cause for satisfaction everywhere. Of course, this is not least of all because continuing military conflict is fraught with the most unpredictable consequences. In one of his latest interviews, U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci noted that such tendencies as the spread of missile technology and the use of chemical weapons in the "Third World" are cause for profound concern.

For this reason, it is logical to assume that attaining a fair and lasting peace between Iraq and Iran and normalizing the situation in the Persian Gulf region will constitute an integral part of the efforts to create a comprehensive system of international peace and security. Prospects would be opened up for agreement, for example, on reducing the density of arms in the region. It would then be possible to study the possibility of implementing more far-reaching steps directed, in particular, at averting the appearance there of nuclear weapons, eliminating means of mass destruction, and strengthening mutual trust.

The question of ensuring the security and freedom of shipping in the Persian Gulf must also be resolved in a new way. At the height of the Iran-Iraq war the United States and its NATO allies counted on unilateral strong-arm actions. With the cease-fire and the beginning of peace talks between Iraq and Iran, on the one hand, excuses for the presence in the Persian Gulf of the navies

of countries other than the littoral states are falling away. On the other, the opportunity is opening up for a demonstration of goodwill with a view to reducing tension in the region.

For its part the Soviet Government has stated it is willing to withdraw Soviet ships if the other states which have nothing to do with the region do the same. Moreover, the USSR's constructive proposals concerning the security of sea lanes running through the Persian Gulf region are well known. Their implementation would undoubtedly accord with the desire of the Gulf littoral countries to turn it into a zone of security, good-neighborliness, and cooperation.

What was the U.S. response to the Soviet Union's latest appeal? At a White House briefing, journalists asked M. Fitzwater, U.S. presidential assistant for press relations [title as published], to comment on the Soviet Government statement. They heard the reply that no decision currently has been made to withdraw U.S. ships from the Persian Gulf... and their rules of engagement had not changed. It further transpires from what he said that, even if lasting peace and security do become established in the region, it will be possible to count at best only on a reduction in the U.S. military presence there.

A peculiar logic for our time, to say the least!

Zagladin Meets Syrian Visitors, Stresses Ties
LD3108170288 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—The mutual wish to lend to the ties between the Soviet and Syrian parliaments and even broader and more effective character was expressed in the course of the conversation today at the foreign affairs commissions of the chamber of the USSR Supreme Soviet with the delegation of the commission for inter-Arab and international affairs of Majlis al-Sha'b (the people's council) of the Syrian Arab Republic, who are currently on an official visit in the USSR.

Vadim Zagladin, secretary of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet of the Union, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, noted the high level of the relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between the two countries, stressed the importance of strengthening Soviet-Syrian cooperation in settling topical international problems.

N. Duwaydari, member of the Ba'th Central Committee, head of the delegation, said that Syria sets high store by the Soviet Union's stand on problems of concern for the Arab nation, first and foremost the Palestinian issue. The Syrian MPs [members of parliament] showed a lively interest in perestroyka. It was stressed that it concerns the areas of home and foreign policy and is directed at making the efforts more effective.

The delegation expressed high appraisal of the USSR's foreign policy activities, the Soviet initiatives aimed at building a nuclear-fre and non-violent world based on respect of the right of every people for a free choice of their destiny, noted the broad concurrence of the stands of the two countries on most important international issues.

In discusssing topical international issues special attention was devoted to the Middle East situation. The Soviet side reaffirmed the Soviet Union's intention to contribute actively to a search for a just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the fight for its political resolution. The sides declared for invigorating practical steps towards the convocation of a conference on the Middle East.

The members of the delegation welcomed the signing of the accords on Afghanistan. They stressed that they should be implemented by all who put their signatures under the document. The common view was expressed that the resolution of the Afghanistan problem within the framework of the Geneva accords will contribute to settling also other regional conflicts.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq war, declared for the speediest peaceful settlement of all disputable issues between Iran and Iraq, withdrawal of all foreign troops from that region.

The meeting was attended by deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet Yevgeniy Primakov and Vladimir Fedosov.

On the same day the delegation visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin wall.

Demichev Receives Algerian Minister of Culture
LD3108153788 Moscow TASS in English 1030 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Petr Demichev, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received Boualem Bessaih, member of the Central Committee of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) and minister of culture and tourism of Algeria, in the Kremlin today.

During the friendly conversation the sides expressed satisfaction with the successful development of the traditional friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Algeria. It was noted that cultural cooperation held an important place in the Soviet-Algerian relations, making for better mutual understanding between the Soviet and Algerian peoples.

Both sides said they were seeking more active and broader contacts in this and other fields.

Petr Demichev and Boualem Bessaih had a sincere exchange of views on urgent international issues, such as the Middle East settlement, the end of the Iran-Iraq conflict, the implementation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and further reductions of Soviet and American nuclear arsenals.

Boualem Bessaih spoke highly of the realistic and energetic Soviet foreign policy. He emphasized that it was the efforts of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving nations that had made the international situation change for the better and had infused the world with faith in the possibility of achieving practical disarmament and resolving regional problems.

Petr Demichev told the Algerian guest about the implementation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, dwelling on specific legislative measures to transform the Soviet political system.

Egyptian Ambassador Concludes Moscow Service

PM3108113388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS "Official Announcement"]

[Text] S.H. Basyuni, Egyptian ambassador to the USSR, departed Moscow on 30 August.

East Europe

Polish Interior Minister Meets Walesa

LD3108210788 Moscow TASS in English 1930 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw August 31 TASS—Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, Minister of the Interior of the Polish People's Republic General of the Armour Czeslaw Kiszczak had a meeting today with chairman of the All-Poland Council of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth Jan Dobraczynski and member of the Consultative Council under the President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Aleksander Hejsztor, with a view of furthering the proposal that a round-table meeting be held with the participation of representatives of public, holding different views and world outlook, the PAP news agency reported.

Czeslaw Kiszczak also had a meeting with the Lech Walesa. Taking part in the talk were representative of the Secretariat of Catholic Church Episcopate in Poland Bishop E. Bodrowski and General Secretary of the All-Poland Council of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth Stanislaw Ciosek. They discussed prerequisites for organizing a round-table meeting and its procedure. The round-table proposal was approved at the latest plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. The most urgent, national political task is formation of a broad coalition of the forces in support of reforms, cooperation of those who see the need for changes and want to actively participate in the process of changes.

Jaruzelski Comments on Strikes in Factory Visit

LD0109063588 Moscow TASS in English 0629 GMT 1 Sep 88

[Text] Warsaw September 1 TASS—Today it is especially important to learn from direct talks with working people how they assess the results of the recent plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP), which is so important for the country and for the party, to hear from workers what interferes with their work and life, said Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of Poland. He spoke on Wednesday at a meeting of activists in the car factory of Warsaw. The Polish leader visited workshops where he talked with workers.

Today Poland is passing a turning point, he pointed out. Socialism is a great idea. But its implementation, contrary to naive and utopian views, can come only as a result of a long process. A country with such a historical heritage as Poland has to travel a longer and more difficult road to this goal. The most important thing is to march along this road, always remembering that man is the supreme goal, pointed out Jaruzelski.

Asked by workers about a damage from the current wildcat strikes, the first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee said that it could be accurately estimated. He added that some economic consequences were irreplaceable and that the most serious damage was that they were detrimental to the country's prestige.

TRUD Views Polish Strikes, Background

PM3108110088 Moscow TRUD in Russian 31 Aug 88 p 3

[Yu. Vasilkov article: "August in Poland"]

[Text] In recent days reports of illegal strikes at a number of enterprises have been coming in from Poland. They are illegal because they do not observe the conditions laid down for resolving labor disputes in the law on trade unions adopted in October 1982. This law permits a strike as an extreme measure, after other methods of resolving a conflict between the working people and the administration have been exhausted.

Outwardly the scenario of events reminds some people of August 1980, when a wave of strikes caused profound sociopolitical upheavals. Characteristically, that is precisely how the reports from Poland were received at AFL-CIO headquarters. L. Kirkland, chairman of the trade union association, hastily put forward a demand to bring economic pressure to bear on Poland to make it

acknowledge the strikers' demands. Let us recall that it was Kirkland who was one of the main initiators of the discredited policy of sanctions in the early eighties.

So we seem to be dealing with familiar faces and familiar subjects, especially since among the organizers of the strikes the notorious names of Walesa, Lis, Switon, Bujak, and other figures in the illegal "Solidarity" crop up.

All the same, the similarity is only apparent. The main difference is that whereas in 1980 the strikes signaled economic trouble, today they only flared up after the adoption of radical measures to improve the economy. Foremost among the strikers' demands is recognition of "trade union pluralism." The impression is created that the "Solidarity" figures are in a hurry to make use of the opportunity that is slipping away from them to return to the sociopolitical arena.

Let us go back a little. Last year it became clear that the economic reform in Poland needed a powerful new boost. The tasks for its second stage were formulated, and a nationwide referendum was held on the pace for introducing radical measures. The majority came out in favor of moderation.

But in early 1988 the situation deteriorated. The principle adopted in 1981, whereby they tried to achieve market equilibrium by means of a planned rise in prices and corresponding compensation in wages, was still in force. At first (in 1982-1984) this did lead to some changes for the better on the market, but it did not markedly improve the working people's living standard. The weekly SPRAWY I LUDZIE claims that it is lower now than at the beginning of 1980. Moreover, mass perception registered the steady rise in prices and the unrestrained fall in the gold rate, but not the compensations that were intended to maintain purchasing power.

Speaking at the recent PZPR Central Committee Plenum, Z. Messner, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, admitted that "the attempt to achieve too many objectives in one operation was a mistake." He was referring to the large price increases at the beginning of the year, which were designed to improve the market situation.

In February of this year, as the All-Polish Trade Unions Alliance [OPZZ] center for analysis and research notes, there was not only a rise in prices, but also an "earnings explosion": People received payments from profits on the basis of the results of economic activity in 1987. It has been calculated that the working people's wages rose by more than half compared with the same period last year! Naturally, in subsequent months payments fell markedly, and another spiral of price rises began. Moreover deliveries of goods and services were reduced. By April people had forgotten that they had received substantial salary supplements in February, and in these conditions the high prices became particularly perceptible. In the opinion of the OPZZ center, this was one of the detonators of the social tension that led, as is well known, to strikes at the end of April.

At that time such an acute manifestation of public dissatisfaction came as a surprise to the "Solidarity" leaders, and they were unable to sweep away the destructive wave. In July signs of a deterioration appeared in the mining industry. This sector appeared to be in a privileged position: The miners had the highest wages and, moreover, received coupons for the purchase of goods in short supply. But a weighty supplement to salaries was paid only for working on Saturdays and Sundays. It was impossible to go on like this indefinitely. The federation of miners trade unions began talks in May with the government on regulating wages in the sector. In an interview for the Katowice newspaper TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, the federation's chairman R. Moric stressed: "The reason for our talks was that the increase in payments in the coal industry since 1986 was lower than in other sectors of the economy, and in the first quarter of this year it was at the very bottom of the list...."

The situation that had emerged led to workers protests, which were taken advantage of by extremists, especially among young, unskilled workers who began their labor activity after 1981. They do not remember where the "Solidarity" strike terror led Poland, and therefore they trustingly take up its slogans. Yet the grouping's leaders make no secret of their political goals. Thus, addressing workers at the "Andaluzja" pit, K. Switon stated: "Demands are now a secondary matter. The main thing is to stop coal extraction." Familiar tactics!

The OPZZ executive committee issued a statement on the situation in the country, asking the marshal of the Sejm to convene an emergency session of parliament. The document notes that the trade unions have repeatedly warned of the ineffectiveness of the operation to regulate prices and incomes. The trade unions express concern that the working people's dissatisfaction, which is in many cases justified, has been used by the political adversary to exacerbate the situation.

An assessment of events was given by the PZPR Central Committee Plenum that has just ended. The resolution adopted reaffirms determination to continue the policy of socialist renewal and implementation of economic reforms, democratization, and national consensus. "The party," W. Jaruzelski said in his speech at the plenum, "will support any decisions that will help increase the strength and effectiveness of the trade unions. But it is opposed to proposals that would harm the unity of the working class and introduce a factor of political struggle into the labor collectives' life. The experience of the distant and recent past clearly confirms the rightness of these fears."

Difficult processes are certainly taking place in fraternal Poland. But what stands out is that only a limited circle of people are taking part in the strikes, and that the strikes are of the nature of "occupations," that is, groups of militants do not allow those wishing to work to enter their workplaces. This is regarded in Poland as a sign that attempts to destabilize the situation on a large scale will fail. The complex problems facing the country demand tranquillity and joint efforts by the whole of society to resolve them. This thesis predominates today in the Polish mass media.

Hungarian Labor Conflict Ends in Compromise

PM3108133788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent B. Rodionov dispatch: "Compromise Reached"]

[Text] The less than 1-day labor conflict at the "Mecsek" enterprise in Hungary has ended in a speedy and sensible compromise.

The delegates chosen by the miners were invited to Budapest, where they stated their demands. They stressed that the laying down of tools had purely economic reasons and was aimed against tax measures which had led to a drop in real wages. The direct cause of the conflict was the fact that the annual "loyalty bonus" paid to the miners on their professional holiday was 30-40 percent less than usual. An active role in settling the conflict was played by the Miners Union, whose leader personally handed a letter from the miners to K. Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

After several hours, agreement was reached to the effect that the miners would receive a bonus equal to last year's—the bank will grant "Mecsek," which was in a difficult financial position, special credit. The miners' taxation will be examined by the Hungarian National Assembly. Assurances were given that, contrary to the negative statements by many press organs concerning "Mecsek," coking coal—the only coking coal mined in Hungary—will still be needed by the country for a long time, and there is a future for mining in the region.

After the talks, the delegates, together with government and trade union representatives, flew by helicopter to meet with the miners, who were waiting in good order for the resolution of the conflict. Work has resumed at the coal enterprise. Now the next thing is to learn lessons for the future.

Silayev Meets CSSR's Gerle on Cooperation

LD0109040788 Prague CTK in English 1857 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow Aug 31 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Minister of Metallurgy, Engineering and Electrical Engineering Ladislav Gerle continued Tuesday and Wednesday talks with Soviet Government officials on deepening Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation in this sphere, centering on the conception of this cooperation in the future 15-20 years.

Ladislav Gerle's talks with Soviet Deputy Premier Ivan Silayev today concentrated on the preparation of the coordination of national economic plans in engineering for the future five-year period. They also discussed some concrete questions of bilateral cooperation and supplies with a special stress laid on the increase of Czechoslovak imports of Soviet engineering products.

Agricultural Delegation Visits GDR

PM3108132588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the SED, a delegation of CPSU workers headed by I.I. Skiba, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department, was in the GDR 22-27 August. The delegation studied the experience of SED organizations' work in backing scientific and technical progress in agriculture and other agro-industrial complex sectors in the GDR.

The delegation was received by W. Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

LCY Secretaries Session on Current Ills Noted

PM3108151988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Before the LCY Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Aug—Any departure from the course of reforms ratified at the recent LCY Conference will only deepen the social crisis, and therefore the conditions for the practical implementation of the course outlined by the party must be created more rapidly. This was stressed, TANJUG reports, at a meeting of LCY republic and provincial organizations' central and provincial committee secretaries, which was held here at the LCY Central Committee within the framework of preparations for the next LCY Central Committee plenum.

Speaking at the meeting, S. Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, noted that recently the social and economic situation in the country has deteriorated. Working people are encountering a sharp drop in their living standards, and the increased discontent is creating the danger of a social explosion. All this is being exploited by antisocialist forces in their subversive work. That is why the struggle to combat inflation, consistently implement the economic reform, and develop and carry out the appropriate social programs, the speaker stated, is one of the party's immediate tasks.

The timely introduction of amendments and addenda to the SFRY Constitution is of tremendous importance for the successful implementation of economic reform.

The meeting's participants devoted particular attention to the situation in Kosovo Autonomous Province, where interethnic relations are still aggravated. In particular, it was said that aggressive nationalist attacks on the gains of the revolution, political confrontation, and other undemocratic methods of resolving social problems are occurring in the province. The speeches pointed out that a stance must be elaborated at the upcoming LCY Central Committee plenum concerning the various forms of spontaneous organization and political activity that have become widespread recently among citizens through rallies and gatherings that have occurred outside the lawful system of political institutions and organizations. The reasons behind this phenomenon must be examined carefully and objectively. The fact is that they are breaching the peace and are being used by individuals to act from nationalist and antisocialist standpoints.

It was stressed at the LCY Central Committee meeting that the LCY must act to prevent the spread of "gutter democracy," ensure the effective fulfillment of the LCY Conference decisions, and find the courage to say that, through the inconsistency of its actions, it also helped give rise to political and economic problems, notably the exacerbation of the situation in Kosovo.

Turkish-Soviet Roadway Symbol of Closer Ties

Ceremony Held at Border

LD0109042788 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Tbilisi August 31 TASS—The settlement of Sarpi on the border, several kilometres from the town of Batumi (Georgia) has become a symbol of closer cooperation between the USSR and the Turkish Republic. Inauguration ceremony was held here today to commission the USSR-Turkey motorway.

At noon people, including residents of Sarpi and a delegation from parts of eastern Anatolia, gathered for a meeting on both sides of the roadway bridge built by Soviet and Turkish builders. Otar Cherkeziya, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Georgia, and high officials of Turkish ministries and departments, led by Ekrem Pakdemirli, minister of transportation and communications, came over to attend. Following the performance of the national anthems of the two countries, the leaders of the Soviet and the Turkish delegations cut the red band.

Addressing the meeting, Otar Cherkeziya, Ekrem Pakdemirli and others noted that the new motorway will help to develop business and cultural ties between the USSR and Turkey and to stimulate commercial activity in the whole region east of the Black Sea.

Increased Tourism Expected

LD2908172488 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] Tbilisi August 29 TASS—The idea of direct motor traffic between the USSR and Turkey, under discussion for several years, is being translated into life. Preparation for operation of the built motor road between the two countries is nearing completion. It will run through the border village of Sarpi (Soviet Georgia in Transcaucasia). A check point and a customs house will open here.

Otar Cherkeziya, chairman of Georgia's Council of Ministers, said in an interview with TASS that the new thinking in Soviet-Turkish relations and a display of confidence and mutual understanding had an influence on implementing this idea.

Several dozen Turkish businessmen are expected to come for the inauguration of the route. They will hold talks with representatives of Soviet ministries and departments, enterprises and organizations on possibilities of boosting trade and economic cooperation.

An inter-government agreement on direct motor traffic between the USSR and Turkey also provides for a considerable increase in international tourism. For instance, it is planned to organize trips by Turkish tourists via Transcaucasia to Central Asia and Siberia, as well as to Nordic and other countries of Europe. A flow of tourists from these countries will head for Turkey, Near and Middle East countries. Similar transit shipments are also planned.

Call for Change on W. Berlin Policy Questioned

PM3108113188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 88 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Zyubanov dispatch: "Movement, but in What Direction?"]

[Text] West Berlin, 27 Aug—Speaking to foreign journalists in West Berlin a few days ago, ruling Mayor E. Diepgen demanded "greater movement" of the Soviet Union in its policy toward West Berlin. According to E. Diepgen's statement, published in the local press, this policy has still not resulted in the city's acceptable representation abroad by the FRG.

The hidden meaning of this sentence, which appears inoffensive at first glance, can be perceived only by looking at the text of the four-power agreement on West Berlin, which is the fundamental basis of the city's peaceful life. It is well known that the document's key provision states that West Berlin does not belong to the FRG and cannot be governed by it in the future. Appendix IV of the agreement goes on to say that the United States, Britain, and France reserve the right and responsibility to represent the interests of Berlin's Western sectors abroad.

As we can see, there is and there can be no question at all of the city's representation abroad through FRG embassies. The agreement allows only consular services for West Berliners abroad.

So, what sort of movement is the ruling mayor yearning for, and in which direction? Could it be in the direction of breaching the provisions of the four-power agreement? There have already been numerous similar veiled, and at times even open, attempts by representatives of the Christian Democratic Union to "amend" the four-power agreement to their advantage. Ultimately, the goal of all these attempts is to create the illusion that West Berlin belongs to the FRG.

Bessmertnykh Meets FRG Official 30 August

LD3108034488 Moscow TASS in English 1402 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh today received at the USSR Foreign Ministry H.P. Bazing, head of the department for international organizations of the Foreign Ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany who has arrived in Moscow for consultations.

During their conversation, which passed in a business-like and constructive atmosphere, they discussed the pressing issues of developing international relations ahead of the 43rd session of the U.N. General Assembly and ways to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in ensuring international peace and security.

Soviet, UK Firms Plan Communications Venture

PM3108133188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Aug 88 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Contacts": "Phone From London"]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Communications' "Moskovskaya Gorodskaya Telefonnaya Set" production association and Britain's General Electric-Plessey Telecommunications company have signed a protocol on the creation of a Soviet-British joint venture to provide modern electronic communications services.

The joint venture will establish and operate a network of pay phones using credit cards or prepaid cards. The network will permit direct dialing of city, intercity, and international calls.

In the future the cooperating firms will expand the joint venture's activity in organizing and providing services for the utilization of other equipment, including the organization of a dedicated digital network based on electronic telephone exchanges. The joint venture will introduce advanced scientific and technical achievements, managerial experience, additional materials, and financial resources to the technology of the subsector.

"The partner was chosen on a competitive basis," said V. Vasilyev, chief of the "Moskovskaya Gorodskaya Telefonnaya Set" production association. "Proposals relating to participation in the competition were sent to 12 prestigious leading world corporations and companies, 7 of which submitted counterproposals and technical and commercial information."

The first users of the joint venture's services will be foreign establishments in Moscow, foreign tourists, and those Soviet organizations and institutions with foreign exchange reserves. The joint venture is to operate on the principle of foreign currency cost covering [valyutnaya samookupayemost].

Italian Stance on 'Lvov Case' Criticized

LD3008162388 Moscow TASS in English 1028 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Lvov August 30 TASS—"To us, the 'Lvov case' is not closed", Ivan Zaplotinsky, first deputy procurator of Lvov region, Ukraine, has told a TASS correspondent. "We have testimony by about a hundred witnesses to the mass extermination of Italian servicemen by the Nazis in the area of Lvov in 1943."

Ivan Zaplotinsky described as "unprincipled and absurd" the resolution of the Italian Defence Ministry's commission which questioned and then rejected altogether the very fact of the shooting of Italians who had declined to fight against the USSR. During a meeting in Lvov Soviet lawyers suggested to the Italian counterparts to pool efforts in the investigation of the crimes, and expressed readiness to provide them with witness testimony and proofs. However, the Italian side did not show much interest in that. Rome representatives ignored the possibility to meet with Maria Homko, who is now a pensioner, and who had witnessed the shooting down of Italian officers by the Nazis in 'Citadel' fortress.

Ivan Zaplotinsky said that contacts between the Lvov regional procurator's office and Polish lawyers developed in quite a different way. "Found in Poland through joint efforts have been quite a number of people who were in Lvov when it was occupied by the Nazis and who personally saw the Nazi atrocities against the Italians. Places where the executions had been carried out, including those on Polish territory which neighbours on Lvov region, were ascertained. The Italian side, if it wishes so, may use all these materials".

Comparison of Report on Finnish Talks

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 27 August carries in its second edition on page 4 a TASS report on the 26 August Kremlin meeting between P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and a Finnish parliamentary delegation. The PRAVDA item, entitled "Meeting in the Kremlin," has

been compared with the Moscow TASS International Service Russian version published in the 29 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 34, revealing the following addition:

Column one, paragraph two, first line reads in PRAVDA: "The guests were told about the process of restructuring and democratizing Soviet society and the main avenues for the reform of the political system elaborated by the 19th CPSU Conference. The parliamentarians were also briefed on the functioning of the new economic mechanism and on the implementation of a strong social policy. "The good-neighborliness of..." (adding paragraph)

Latin America & Caribbean

Demichev Receives Honduran Parliament Delegation

LD0109042088 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—Petr Demichev, an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and a first vice-president of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR, today received a delegation from the Honduran National Assembly led by its Vice-President Hector Orlando Gomez Sisneros.

A substantive exchange of opinions was held on the problem of improving the international situation.

It was pointed out that the need to achieve this goal in a spirit of new political thinking urgently requires that regional conflicts be resolved.

The Soviet side noted that the USSR, a committed advocate of political ways and means to solve regional problems, has welcomed the Guatemala agreements and stands ready to help realize them.

The situation in Central America can and should be settled by the Latin Americans themselves, along the lines of national reconciliation, without any outside interference, on the basis of a balance of interests and strict respect for the right of each nation to follow a path of development of its own.

The sides pointed to the positive role of parliamentary contacts in achieving mutual understanding and identifying concurrent views on the cardinal issues of the times between the two countries.

During the frank and friendly conversation the sides expressed their common interest in developing Soviet-Honduran ties, in particular those in trade, and in forming regular parliament-to-parliament contacts.

Brazilian Air Force Guests' Activities Reported

PM3108101788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Brazilian Guests in USSR"]

[Text] Lieutenant General C. Rosa Filho, commander of a main air command and Brazilian deputy minister of aeronautics, is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister.

During the visit meetings and talks were held with Colonel General of Aviation B.F. Korolkov, first deputy commander in chief of the Air Force; and Colonel General of Aviation I.M. Maltsev, chief of the Air Defense Forces General Staff.

Lt Gen C. Rosa Filho and accompanying officials visited the air garrison at Kubinka, where they familiarized themselves with the combat hardware and the Soviet pilots' lives.

The Brazilian guests visited the Kachinskiy Pilots' Higher Military Air College, where they were familiarized with the training base and the organization of the instruction process, and saw the sights of Volgograd.

Lt Gen C. Rosa Filho visited the Yu.A. Gagarin Cosmonaut Training Center 29 August. During the afternoon the Brazilian guest saw the sights of the Moscow Kremlin.

Political & Social

Interior Ministry 'Special-Purpose' Squad Formed

LD3108133688 Moscow TASS in English 1318 GMT 31 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 31 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov reports:

Over the six months of this year, 246 meetings and demonstrations which were not sanctioned by the city council took place in Moscow. Some of them were of provocative, anti-state nature. At times there were breaches of public order, "demonstrators" themselves were highly aggressive, and matters came to overt clashes with militia. This particularly applied to demonstrations which were organized by a non-formal grouping called "Democratic Union". This was reported at today's briefing at the Central Board of Moscow Militia.

A new subdivision—a special-purpose squad—was recently set up in Moscow militia to put a stop to such situations. "Democracy is not all-permissiveness. Moscow Militia holds a firm stand with regard to violations of the public order and manifestations of organized crime in the city," said Militia Colonel Vladimir Ivanov, the head of the squad. He added that the purpose of the squad is not to disperse demonstrations but is to restore order in those cases when the situation begins to run out of control. Incidentally, Ivanov added, the equipment of the squad—transparent plastic shields, bullet-proof vests, helmets, and rubber clubs—produces psychological effect rather than are really resorted to.

The squad has yet another purpose—to monitor and if necessary take resolute measures against rowdy youth groups from among 'Luberites' [as received], metal rock fans, and punks. Clashes between them became frequent of late and innocent passers-by were hurt.

Duties of Squads Outlined

PM3108145988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 6

[S. Taranov article under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Special-Purpose Militia Squad"]

[Text] The Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration held a briefing 31 August devoted to the activity of a new militia subunit—special squads.

Special squads were set up by order of the minister of internal affairs in November 1987. However, they have only recently become a subject of public attention—following the 21 August incident in Moscow's Pushkin Square.

According to Militia Colonel D. Ivanov, commander of a squad, they are ordinary subunits of the patrol and point service [patrulno-postovaya sluzhba], but with a more clearly expressed specialization. What we are talking about is their function during mass events—both legal events and rallies or meetings unsanctioned by local soviet ispolkoms.

Militia workers from the squads are called on—like all the militia—to maintain public order. A mandatory condition is that they be well-versed in and observant of existing legislation. They are also distinguished by their good physical condition (each member is a registered sportsman).

The equipment issued to them is a special question. It is stressed that the squads only have available to them means of protecting the lives and health of the personnel. Each member has a light armored vest under his uniform. If necessary, transparent plastic shields can be used. There are rubber nightsticks whose use is authorized in exceptional circumstances, but never against women, children, or invalids.

Squads have already participated in restoring order outside the "Budapesht" and "Belgrad" stores, when crowds of rowdy youths were taking each other on.

Those, briefly, are the features of the new subunits. We should add for our part that their creation, naturally, is no cause for rejoicing. This measure was forced on us. And we would only welcome a situation in which the special squads are left idle, with the complex processes of restructuring and democratization proceeding along the lines of public harmony.

Further on Squads

PM3108153188 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Sep 88 p 4

[I. Baranovskiy report: "Special-Purpose Squad"]

[Excerpts] The traditional meeting between staffers of the capital's militia and mass media representatives was held in the Moscow Gorispolkom's Main Internal Affairs Administration yesterday. Those assembled were addressed by Colonel D. Ivanov, commander of the militia's special-purpose squad. [passage omitted]

Servicemen from the squad who attended the meeting demonstrated plastic shields, rubber billy sticks, helmets, and lightweight bulletproof vests—specially developed equipment for actions in extreme conditions. The squad commander emphasized that these means to impose order can be used only in exceptional cases. And the squad itself has been created not to combat democracy and glasnost but to defend them.

Just as in any other work, mishaps can occur. In the course of the events in Pushkin Square on 21 August, for example, squad staffers used force not only against instigators of the rally but also against some passers-by and journalists. Militia personnel gave assurances that this will not happen again.

Diminished War Threat Noted on World Peace Day
LD3108184588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1444 GMT 31 Aug 88

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Text] Forty-nine years ago Fascist Germany invaded Poland and started World War II. It cost 55 million lives, more than any other war in human history, more than the worst epidemic, the most frightening natural calamity. For this reason, 1 September has been designated World Peace Day. May the blackest day in history remind us of the need for actions to ensure that such a day is never again repeated.

We are marking World Peace Day in an atmosphere in which we can say quite definitely that the direct threat of war with the participation of the great powers has diminished. This atmosphere has been created probably for the first time in all the years of holding World Peace Day. The mass actions by the world's peoples have finally led to this. The new political thinking, which has absorbed the ideas, concepts, and hopes of the broadest strata among peoples of all countries, has taken on material strength.

Previously when marking World Peace Day, we unfailingly listed our numerous initiatives aimed at preventing war and supporting detente and disarmament. The initiatives were fine, but they did not work or worked very badly. The point is that we did not have a sufficiently realistic view of the world. A conflict would draw near between the interests of all humanity and the aggravation of global problems and we would consider peaceful coexistence as a form of class war. The world has become interdependent and closely interlinked. The death of one participant in the conflict has come to mean the inevitable death of the other participant. The security of some could be guaranteed only by the security of others. However, we continued asserting that the definitive trend in world development is confrontation between the two systems. We had only to refrain from the previous formulas—which were of course right for their time—and to evaluate the world today in all its complex and contradictory reality for a shift to take place. This was how I started: the direct threat of war with the participation of the great powers has diminished.

To speak of specific achievements, we have the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and the possibility which has opened up for a reduction in Soviet and U.S. strategic weapons. So, on 1 September we have the right to say: World Peace Day is an important milestone on the road to world peace.

Moscow Brawl Prompts Call for Tougher Sanctions
PM3108152988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Aug 88 Second Edition p 6

[Article by N. Lukanovskiy, reporter on PRAVDA youth reception desk: "It Was Explained...to the Lawbreakers"]

[Text] "Moscow. On Saturday 27 August at 1830 a fight in which about 80 people took part broke out by the "Budapesht" store because of bad relations between young people from Azerbaijan SSR and Muscovites. At 1945 the fight was stopped. Its most active participants (33 people) were taken to the militia department where they were given a lecture...."

I have cited this excerpt verbatim from a USSR MVD press department report. There is a question behind each line. What are the reasons for the bad relations? Why such an odd assortment—Muscovites and Azerbaijanis? Why did an entire 75 minutes pass between the beginning of the fight and the time it was stopped? What was the militia doing?...

Monday 29 August I had the chance to find the answers when the 118th Militia department and then the rayon internal affairs administration in Moscow's Volgogradskiy Rayon received a new, alarming report: More than 150 persons of Azerbaijani nationality and Muscovites had gathered by the "Budapesht" store. They intended to "settle scores" for the Saturday incident.

... When I was approaching the store I noticed some sporty-looking guys who were gesticulating vigorously....

"There was no clash today," Militia Lieutenant Colonel A. Makarov, chief of the maintenance of public order department of the Volgograd Internal Affairs Administration, dispelled the tension a few minutes later. "Obviously, they did not dare with such a large number of militia operatives."

Why were the militia forces brought in? In the event of a fight breaking out would they once again send "the most active ones" to the department to explain to them that it was not good to do this, and then let them go, as happened Saturday?

"But what do you do?" said Militia Major V. Ptitsyn, deputy commander of the patrol and sentry duty subunit, entering the conversation. "The militia is powerless in this situation. Those sanctions which we can apply according to the RSFSR Code of Administrative Violations are painless for the "brawlers."

...And questions remain: Will this lawbreaker feel that he has been punished? And if not, won't he go on to commit an even more serious offense?

I was later told the details of Saturday's "events." The day before one of the Muscovites was "insulted." The "guests" from Azerbaijan were not here by chance—they

had bought up goods in short supply and were reselling them there and then. Brawls broke out in various places, they were "extinguished," and they flared up seriously only after 1930 hours....

"Sanctions should be tougher, and the militia organs should be given the right to punish the lawbreakers." This is the opinion of Militia Captain R. Shafigulin, deputy chief of the 118th criminal investigation department.

"For breaching trade rules, for example," he believes, "an administrative fine of R50-100 should be imposed. If it is repeated—R100-200 or 15 days' detention...."

The position in which the militia workers found themselves today was peculiar, to put it mildly. They would be glad to strengthen law and order and call the offenders strictly to account, but the antiquated instructions and provisions do not permit them....

Economist Says Nationalist Issue Manipulated
LD3109164588 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 25 Aug 88

[Excerpts] In the times of upsurge of political and social activities in Lithuania, unheard in this country for a good 50 years, the issue on national identity is the one that receives the greatest deal of demagogic misinterpretations and attacks from the opponents of perestroyka. It is also an issue which is most difficult to disentangle from the old Stalinist understanding.

Vladas Dobilas looks at the main points of an article written by a leading Lithuanian economic [as received] Kazimiera Prunskiene, and recently published in a Lithuanian newspaper:

[Dobilas] Professor Prunskiene wonders that the issue of nationalism suddenly springs up and is manipulated with even dealing with problems which hardly belong to the sphere in question, like in the case of democratization of economy. [passage omitted]

The nontraditional ways of carrying out reforms, this initiative from below rather than from above—which had been the usual procedure in the Soviet Union before—cause nonconventional mood from the opponents. Professor Prunskiene writes that the opponents choose the accusations of nationalism as their weapon. The notion of nationalism is conveniently expanded to be turned into a major evil and sin and what is labelled as nationalistic aspirations is presented as a treason [word indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Kazimiera Prunskine writes in her article that from her personal experience she has taken up three major accusations by the opponents of the movement:

Firstly, why does the movement stand separately from the already existing public organizations? Isn't it an attempt to oppose the Communist Party?

Secondly, isn't it possible that the leaders of the movement are plotting to seek power?

And thirdly, why does the movement for perestroyka lay emphasis on the nationality issues?

According to Kazimiera Prunskiene, these allegations materialized into a variety of concrete accusations by crying wolf and seeing damage to the interests of non-Lithuanians when the issue of declaring the Lithuanian language as the state language of the republic. Or else, flying the Lithuanian national colors—yellow, green, and red—is interpreted as expressing sympathy for the pre-war bourgeoise state system in Lithuania. Likewise, the appeal of the movement for more economic independence is seen as nationalistic egotism, an instrument of splitting the friendship of Soviet nations. [passage omitted]

There is objective sense in the activity of the movement only until a law-governed state is created in the country where the people's interests are duly respected and observed. And this is hardly possible without the efforts of the people themselves.

As for the alleged nationalistic spirit of the Lithuanian movement for perestroyka, Kazimiera Prunskiene notes that this approach is nothing else but surviving symptoms of the chronic disease of the past when nations were divided into big and small, the latter being compelled to put up with the minor role of pleasing the big ones. [passage omitted]

Emergence of Estonian Restructuring Front Viewed
PM3108125188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[PRAVDA special correspondents O. Losoto and V. Shirokov report: "Life of the Republics: Estonia. In the Mirror of Change"]

[Text] Tallinn—Pevcheskoye Pole in Tallinn. More than 100,000 inhabitants and visitors to the city had come there on that warm evening to meet the delegates from the republic's party organization to the 19th All-Union Party Conference, to hear what ideas they were taking with them to Moscow, and to voice their wishes and valedictory words. The problems Estonia is now experiencing, ways to overcome the difficulties that have accumulated and the questions that have remained unresolved for years, and the future of the republic were all discussed bluntly and frankly.

This meeting was organized and held on the initiative of the Popular Front in Support of Restructuring—a new social movement that emerged recently in Estonia.

Here is another fact from the chronicle of this movement. On the day that the All-Union Party Conference opened, approximately 5,000 people armed with shovels

voluntarily turned out to help construction workers at the F.R. Kreytsvald Library in response to an appeal from the Popular Front. The volunteers included Estonians and Russians.

"The work continued by Popular Front members with callused hands illustrates that they constitute a real force, capable not only of organizing rallies but also of working. From words to actions!"—that is how the ESTONIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY concluded its report of this event.

But the picture is not as idyllic as it may appear at first glance. Various demagogues and figures are emerging into the light of day, people who hide a venomous hatred for everything socialist behind their words about democracy, restructuring, and glasnost. They have personally accorded themselves the right of making a judgment on all questions of the republic's sociopolitical and economic life.

Of course, the activity of such a new democratic movement as the Popular Front deserves to be discussed more thoroughly, and we will do this later. But everyday facts show that everything is not unambiguous today. Many acute and extremely complex questions that were previously considered prohibited have been raised. They concern the nationalities policy and interethnic relations. They also include problems of bilingualism in the republic, the official status of the Estonian language, the revival of national emblems, excessive migration into the republic, environmental protection, and the restriction of the diktat of union ministries and departments. The idea of complete republic economic accountability [khozraschet] is at the center of the debates. Dissatisfaction with the rate of change at one time even provoked a demand from individual party organizations for the convocation of an extraordinary Estonian Communist Party congress.

Restructuring and glasnost have boosted people's activeness, aroused their hopes, and liberated social energy. In Estonia the historical past is being reinvestigated and analyzed, and new forms of involving working people in the government of the republic are the subject of intensive quest. But we would be unobjective if we did not say that all these processes do not only have their supporters but also their opponents. Some people see in them the manifestation of nationalism and a deviation from socialist principles. Others, on the contrary, reckon that administrative-edict management methods are still being eradicated too slowly.

"Nonetheless, I think that events must not be dramatized," I. Toome, secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, told us. "The process of restructuring in Estonia is following the mainstream of the all-union changes. It constitutes above all democratization and glasnost, as part of radical economic reform—the idea of republic economic accountability. Naturally, national features are being taken into consideration here. Today the main obstacle for us is that union ministries and departments are in many respects continuing to dictate economic policy without considering the republic's interests. We will not further restructuring without economically accountable autonomy [khozraschetnaya samostoyatelnost] for the regions. For things are becoming ridiculous—in our own republic we are not entitled to fix the price of a movie theater ticket, a cake recipe, or the cost of a jar of Tallinn sprats. This overcentralization angers people. The republics must be trusted. As is well known, the idea of switching the republics and regions to the principles of economic accountability and of clearly determining their contribution to the resolution of all-union programs was supported by the all-union party conference. Unfortunately, we aren't keeping pace with the understanding of restructuring as seen by the people and ordinary party members. We must cooperate with the Popular Front, for it is needed in those areas where people are putting the brakes on restructuring."

We sensed the acuteness of the problem at a meeting with a group of workers at the Tallinn's M.I. Kalinin Electrical Engineering Plant Association party committee. The enterprise collective is mostly Russian speaking. It is sincerely alarmed by the prevailing situation.

"National polarization is noticeable," N. Gurevich, engineer in the testing department, said. "Everything is separate—kindergartens, schools, and even enterprises. There are in practice few points of contact. I think that the fact that the Russian-speaking population today has no knowledge of Estonian arose artificially. My children were born and completed their schooling here, yet their leaving certificate has a line through the 'Estonian language' column. Why? There was no appropriate teacher at the school..."

His tale was supplemented by V. Miroshnichenko, director general of the association.

"In my opinion, the problem also has economic roots. When the regional economic councils were eliminated and some of the enterprises switched to subordination to union ministries, all the documentation and clerical work began to be carried out in Russian alone. Voluntarily or not, Estonians began to move into local industry enterprises..."

Moreover, as we were told at the party committee, for a long time there was a difference in the amount of information available to the Estonian and the Russian-speaking populations. Estonian-language press, radio, and television raised more acutely and frankly the problems disturbing the indigenous population. At the same time the Russian-language media hushed things up. It is only recently that steps have been taken to inform the Russian-speaking population more fully. But this is only

the beginning. What is needed is a well-founded scientifically conceived program to eliminate the distortions in interethnic relations. However, this is not an Estonian problem alone...

The relevance of this issue is also shown by the formation of the International Movement in the republic, which is an alternative to the Popular Front and mainly consists of representatives of the Russian-speaking population. So far, attempts to consolidate the two movements have failed.

There are two main points on which the Popular Front and the International Movement do not agree: the establishment of Estonian citizenship and the official status of the Estonian language. The Russian-speaking population is concerned that, if these ideas are accepted, its own interests will be encroached upon. All the more so in view of the fact that proposals have been made to give republic citizenship to those who have lived here 5 years and can speak Estonian.

Passions cannot be extinguished by a directive decision. A great deal of explanatory work is needed, as well as a considerable improvement in the degree to which the population is informed. There must be no antagonism between the Popular Front and the International Movement. Party committees could obviously do more in this respect. Some are evidently still looking at life through rose-colored glasses and substituting idyllic pastorals for the sharper reality that often does not fit into the prescribed framework.

Seven working groups have been set up under the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. They are sounding out all the painful issues agitating the republic's population in order to take them into account when drafting new laws and decisions by the organs of power.

This is no simple task and that is why, as we were told at the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, representatives of the public, scientists, the creative intelligentsia, and deputies have all become involved in order to more objectively and comprehensively reflect social needs and expectations regarding the groups' work. M. Lauristin, one of the initiators of the Popular Front, is taking part in the work of one such group. She gave us her thoughts on the matter:

"Restructuring has prompted a thirst for action in the people and a wish to be directly involved in the adoption of all important decisions. Some are still afraid of the people and cut themselves off from them. This wall of alienation engenders mistrust, and mistrust always works both ways: First the men at the top do not trust the people, then the people lose their trust in them."

Every republic must seek its own specific ways to solve urgent problems. We must improve constitutional relations between republics and limit centralism. For a long time we have driven our problems deep down and covered them up with bright slogans. But now they have come to the surface and must be resolved.

Society is looking for alternative approaches to the solution of many economic and social problems. This is how, for example, the idea of transferring the republic to full economic accountability came into being. An economically accountable republic is not simply an economic category. It offers a real counter to nationalist aspirations and gives people confidence that the republic can and must develop within the framework of the socialist economy. Unfortunately, some people have given a hostile reception to the idea of economic accountability and seen only the kind of details in it that are unrealistic at the present moment.

It is true that, in its initial form, the proposal on the convertible ruble and open economic zones was a long way from current economic reality, but the rational heart of the idea was overlooked. This led to estrangement between its advocates and opponents, to heated, sharp discussions. But calm, unbiased analysis of the idea would have helped to dot the "i's." This is what eventually happened. The Estonian SSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute has formed a group to develop the concept of improving regional management of the republic on the basis of economic accountability principles.

Whereas the questions of introducing full economic accountability in the republic involve study and analysis in the coming years, the problems of increasing and reorienting the republic's industrial potential and related environmental protection issues are a current requirement. The USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production intended to considerably expand its extraction of phosphorites in the republic, without considering that, given present equipment and technology, working these deposits could do irreparable damage from an ecological standpoint. Intervention by the broad public stopped this ruinous enterprise. It is no accident that an "Estonian Green Movement" has emerged in the republic and become organizationally consolidated. According to television journalist Yukhan Aare, chairman of the board, "The 'green movement' must place itself between industry and agriculture, on the one hand, and nature, on the other. You could say this is a form of people's control that follows developments in the ecological situation, exposes those guilty of polluting the environment, and insists on measures being taken."

In addition to purely ecological issues, the "green" program contains provisions that are strictly political. They are demanding, for example, that they be able to nominate their own candidates to local soviets. Participation by movements of this kind in the political life of society would probably be useful to a certain extent, but, in our view, their politicization is to a considerable degree a result of the republic party organization largely failing until recently to keep pace with the growing social activeness. This is admitted by party workers themselves.

"Our main shortcoming," A. Saunanen, second secretary of Tartus party gorkom, told us, "has been our belated reaction to the demands of the time and the new social initiatives, and also our indecisive actions. The episodes with the phosphorites, the idea of economic accountability, and the ill-considered modernization and expansion of the Baltic GRES confirm this. Meanwhile, there is an opportunity to seize the initiative and lead people. This requires determined effort and open discussion with the people."

The republic party organization has taken the first steps in this direction. It is necessary to overcome the crisis of trust that has arisen between many ordinary Communists and the leadership and consolidate party ranks and society as a whole. A difficult task, and one that must be solved without delay, in all areas...

...We saw a placard in one Tallin office. It seemed symbolic to us: It showed a warrior in ancient Estonian dress with a shield and a briefcase in his hands. On the small suitcase the contours of Estonia were clearly visible. The legend was laconic: "Where are we going?" When seeing off delegates to the party conference, the people in Pevcheskoye Pole had answered this question: We are following the highway of socialism, restructuring, democratization, and glasnost with the other peoples of the USSR. This mandate of trust in the republic party organization and its leadership must be repaid.

Lithuanian Group To Examine Clause 68 Convictions
LD3108164388 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Summary] On Friday night the hunger strikers who were on hunger strike for over a week in Gediminas Square in Vilnius, have now left the square and ended the strike. They demanded the release of certain political prisoners.

We were informed that a working group has been set up at the Lithuanian SSR Procurator's Office. On the appeal of the representatives of the public the group will investigate the cases of several persons convicted earlier according to Clause 68 of Lithuania's Criminal code, that is, for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

Shcherbina, Armenian Officials Meet Patriarch
NC3108140988 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 30 Aug 88

[Text] Yerevan, 30 August, ARMENPRES—Boris Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers; Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee; and Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers have met with Catholicos Vazgen I, patriarch of all Armenians.

Useful discussions were held on the solution of the vital problems that have emerged in the republic, the role of the church and its (?peace-seeking) activities, the strengthening of friendship among the peoples of the USSR, and the active participation of clergymen in this. The Armenian church's positive role during the recent incidents in the republic was discussed, and it was stressed that it is possible to gain the extensive support of the communities in the diaspora for the Soviet Union's peaceful initiatives on ending the arms race and removing the threat to mankind medium-range missiles.

On the same day Boris Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers; Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee; and Fadey Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, went to Tsitsernakabert and laid wreaths on the monument to the 1915 massacres.

Shcherbina left Yerevan on 28 August.

Measures To Aid Azerbaijanis From Armenia Noted
NC3108104288 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 29 Aug 88

[Text] As was reported earlier, a special commission has been set up under Gasan Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium, to work with individuals of Azerbaijani origin who have arrived in the Azerbaijan SSR from the Armenian SSR. The members of this commission and those of the similar commissions that have been established in the areas where these persons are concentrated have carefully attended to the needs of the people who have moved to the republic. The party, soviet, and trade union organs, party and work veterans, representatives of creative (?organizations), and scientists have been urged to cooperate with them.

It must be noted that many families have returned to their former homes in the Azizbekovskiy, Yekhegnadzorskiy, Krasnoselskiy, and other rayons in the Armenian SSR. A total of 5,345 persons—that is, 1,133 families—returned to their places of birth in August alone. About 13,000 people from the Armenian SSR are living in the Azerbaijan SSR at the present time. They have been resettled in 45 cities and rayons in the republic.

Material aid is being provided to them by the republic's Ministry of Finance, the rayon and city people's deputies soviet executive committees, the trade union organizations, and the Central Committee of the Red Crescent Society. Work has been organized in a number of places to allow them to live without having to pay expenses and to provide them with food. The Ministry of Trade and the Union of Consumers' Societies have allocated additional provisions for them.

About 1,300 of those who have moved to the Azerbaijan SSR have been temporarily employed. Meanwhile, 883 families have moved into [word indistinct] homes. In view of the forthcoming educational year, the Ministry of Education has ascertained the number of children who have arrived with their families from the Armenian SSR in the Azerbaijan SSR. Measures are being put into effect to provide schoolbooks and other materials for the children.

In addition, a large number of Armenian families have returned to the republic as a result of the cooperation with the Armenian citizens who left the Azerbaijan SSR. For example, 2,335 persons—that is, 649 families—have returned to Sumgait. This is about half of the families who left the republic in the past.

It will be recalled that a group of Armenian SSR party and soviet workers headed by Yuriy Khodzhamiryan, deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers Presidium, arrived in the Azerbaijan SSR some time ago to help the people to return to their former homes in accordance with an agreement reached between the leaders of the two republics. Meanwhile, a responsible group of workers headed by Dadash Asanov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium, went to the Armenian SSR. Cooperation with citizens of Azerbaijani and Armenian extraction who have moved from their places of origin will continue.

Internal Passports a 'Restriction on Freedom'

PM3108152588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from B. Likhterman under the "'Off the Record"' rubric: "We Can Do Without a Passport"]

[Text] Moscow—Now one cannot get fixed up with a job, spend a night in a hotel, go to hospital, place an advertisement in a newspaper, leave items in a commission store, or obtain a mail wrapper or coupons for sugar (the list could go on and on) without the "basic document that identifies a Soviet citizen." Was this the intention of the people who introduced the passport?

In Russia the passport system was abolished in 1917, but 15 years later it was introduced again: "...in order to keep better count of the population of cities, working settlements, and newly erected buildings and to relieve these populated areas of people unconnected with the work at the establishments... and also in order to purge these places of concealed kulak, criminal, and other antisocial elements." (Collection of USSR Government Resolutions, No 84, 1932, p 516). The introduction of passports was justified by the exacerbation of the class struggle as a result of the victory of socialism, which necessitated "special protection for major industrial and political centers" (Great Soviet Encyclopedia, First Edition, p 44).

One would have thought that with the passage of time the restrictions on freedom of movement within the country and on choice of one's place of residence should have been relaxed. Alas, the 1974 "Statute on the Passport System" that is now in operation envisages issuing passports to the entire population of the USSR aged 16 and over, moreover an unregistered passport is deemed invalid. The result is a real restriction on freedom. It is more difficult for a provincial to enter a VUZ in the capital or take up post-graduate study. That is why our science and technology are losing many talented people.

On the other hand, there is a surplus of highly-qualified specialists in the capital, while at the same time they are in chronic short supply in the provinces.

The 1974 "Statute on the Passport System" gives rise to many—very many—questions. Why is a "violation of the passport system" liable to criminal punishment (Article 198, RSFSR Criminal Code)? What moral and juridical justification is there for prohibiting someone who has served his sentence from returning to (that is, registering at) his home?

V. Mayakovskiy's "Lines on a Soviet Passport" has become compulsory reading. But for some reason we forget that there were only external passports in existence in 1929. "Passport"—the original meaning is translated from the French literally as "permission to set sail from a port."

Interference With Foreign Mail Criticized

PM3108114988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 20 Aug 88 p 7

[Letter from N. Popova, Moscow, published under the "Editorial Mailbag" rubric: "A Complete Mystery"]

[Text] It is customary to exchange letters and gifts throughout the world. And state borders do not serve as a barrier to this, save for Soviet citizens. For inscrutable reasons airmail letters take from 3 to 8 weeks to reach us (if they reach us at all).

Even more mysterious adventures attend packages. As soon as the first articles about the disgraceful and absurd bans on postal shipments to foreign countries appeared in the press, customs representatives immediately came out with extremely cheerful and encouraging assurances that our customs service was going to be completely revolutionized. The promised revolution has, however, been somewhat delayed. Nonsensical bans still remain in force. The arbitrary levying of duty on packages and printed matter arriving in our country flourishes exactly as before. There was an instance when I was illegally made to pay R35 for a small box of candy sent to me for the New Year, which was split open when delivered with the contents unfit for consumption. Our foreign friends do not even suspect how much the gifts with which they

so much wish to please us can cost us. Moreover, the addressee himself has for some reason or other to pay even for the operation of opening the correspondence.

But all this happens when it reaches us. Quite a lot of packages and printed material disappear. Sometimes half their contents arrives.

I have repeatedly written to the international mail service and the Ministry of Communications on this matter. The missing objects have varied, but the replies have been identical: Ordinary correspondence is in no way recorded and is therefore impossible to track down. If registered correspondence is involved, it is necessary to furnish all the relevant details and, to cap it off, the addressee himself rather than the services who are to blame for its loss must pay for the search. All this has just been confirmed to me by letter by L. Kolomiyets, chief of the international mail service central claims bureau. However, in cases of missing registered correspondence the mail service for the most part takes no chances. Many months will pass before the addressee realizes that a package sent him is missing and he starts writing all over the place to request the receipts necessary for a search. But no one anywhere is going to hold on to such receipts for such a long time.

There are people who really love to act concerned about what people will say about us abroad. But the workers in our communications and customs services are, by all accounts, not at all concerned as to whether their activity serves to enhance our country's international prestige. To avoid misleading trusting Soviet and foreign citizens who exchange souvenirs by mail, it would be worth stating honestly and openly to the whole world that the Soviet post office does not guarantee to deliver or, consequently, to search for routine correspondence.

Those who venture to violate the confidentiality of our correspondence and open packages addressed to us, not even attempting to disguise this in any way, should have to write down their name and post. Anonymity only exacerbates the lack of checks.

The customs officers who inspect our baggage at the border should also give their particulars to us in precisely the same way. Here we find ourselves in an unequal situation vis-a-vis the customs officers: The passengers present their documents and open their bags and suitcases, while the customs officers preserve their secretive anonymity. Why?

Our telephone service holds just as many mysteries. Why can the rest of the world talk to one another from a public call box while we can't? Or why does a telephone call from Paris to Moscow, say, cost much less than one from Moscow to Paris? Perhaps the communications workers think that our average wages are far higher than those abroad?

Reader Ridicules Ban on Duplicating Equipment

PM3108133388 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 20 Aug 88 p 1

[Letter from A. Pchelnikov, chairman of a cooperative in Magadan Oblast, under the rubric "What Worries Us?": "Dangerous Xerox?"]

[Text] We are aware of how developed so-called small-run printing has become abroad. This is no idle invention of some bored moneybags but primarily an objective necessity. Firms provide an efficient, varied printing service and a flexible response to demand. Surely we need this kind of service ourselves?

However, the bans imposed during the period of stagnation bind cooperatives and individuals alike. The opinion is that they should not be allowed access to duplicating equipment. The situation has reached amusing extremes. A printing house, for example, can let a cooperative have several bottles of ink in any color except black. This is ridiculous! All the more so when there are still people who, I am sorry to say, will walk off with not just a bottle of ink but a whole printing press in exchange for a bottle of liquor. It is an outmoded, derisory ban. But it remains in effect despite this.

Surely one area of work covered by cooperatives is the production of various types of packing material, wallpaper, other finishing and advertising materials, and textile goods from waste products using printing and polygraphic equipment? If these bans remain in force, we are going to be inferior to our world rivals for a long time to come.

Stalin Purges Center Proposed for Moscow

PM3108145788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with V. Glazychev, secretary of the USSR Architects Union Board, by unnamed TASS correspondent: "Descendants' Anxious Memory"—date and place not given]

[Text] The tragedy and courage of the people who fell victim to the lawlessness and reprisals of the Stalin personality cult years should not be forgotten—their memory must be perpetuated. This opinion of the Soviet general public was supported at the 19th all-union party conference.

"Memorial" [veracular is "memorial"] is the name chosen for the all-union historical enlightenment society founded by the USSR Architects Union, the USSR Cinematographers Union, the USSR Theater Workers Union, the USSR Artists Union, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, and OGONEK. Their representatives made up the society's organizational committee, an enlarged session of which was held in Moscow 25 August.

"We are voluntarily shouldering a great responsibility," V. Glazychev, secretary of the USSR Architects Union Board, said in an interview with this TASS correspondent. "This means that our every decision and word must be strict and precise. 'Memorial's' priority tasks are to set up a public council, to prepare for a constituent conference, and to establish the main areas of work in organizing and holding a competition for a memorial complex. This will be set up in Moscow out of funds which have already started being paid into a special account. It will be an all-union competition, but foreign colleagues may also put forward their projects along with the Soviet participants.

"The complex will include monuments, a museum with a rotating exhibition, and an archive open for general use, including memoirs, historical documents, and photographs. We believe that the center of the capital, where the well-known 'house on the embankment' [apartment block in Moscow where several famous purge victims lived] is located, would be a good place to build the memorial.

"It is quite obvious that our aims coincide with those set by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission for the further study of materials connected with the reprisals that took place in the thirties, forties, and early fifties. Assisting this commission in every possible way, we intend to participate in collecting a great deal of evidence currently in private hands relating to the period, to promote extensive public involvement in maintaining the people's memory about the sufferings they experienced, and to ensure the democratic nature of the process of creating a memorial complex. Our proposals to build such a complex will be discussed with the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, the Moscow City Soviet, and the USSR Ministry of Culture.

"A 'Memorial' public council has been set up. It will be in charge of organizing 'Memorial' and staging the constituent conference, which will be held at the end of this year."

Fuller Version of Interview With Adzhubey

PM3108112688 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 20 Aug 88 p11

[Interview with Aleksey Adzhubey, son-in-law of Nikita Khrushchev, by Ezio Mauro in Moscow; date not given—herewith is text of interview published as "excerpts" on page 34 of the 25 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT]

[Text] Moscow—"I am not demanding rehabilitation for Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev: He does not need it. I am demanding justice for my children's sake. After 20 years we want the elimination of the veil of silence surrounding his name and an answer to a single question: What would have happened in this country had it not been for him?" This was said by Aleksey Adzhubey, Khrushchev's son-in-law, the man closest to him during his period in power and for 24 years custodian of the great de-Stalinizer's political legacy on his family's behalf.

As an IZVESTIYA editor and Kremlin envoy on delicate missions, Adzhubey witnessed the general secretary's meetings, outbursts, and plans and was later brought down with him. He has written a book (to be published in Italy by Mondadori, though only a few excerpts from it are known in the USSR) recording his recollections of an era that is still excluded from official Soviet history. The book was written only 12 months ago, however, and for 23 years Adzhubey and his wife, Rada, waited silently in their home on Sovetskaya Square, with its picture of Togliatti on the wall, a colored portrait of Nina Petrovna, and a large photograph of Khrushchev in the snow in front of the Kremlin. "I did not write because I was afraid they would find out and stop me somehow. Until recently Khrushchev's name still inspired fear."

[Mauro] Aleksey Ivanovich, after a silence lasting several years three articles in the Soviet press within the space of 10 days have revived Nikita Khrushchev's name, hitherto erased from the history books. Having demolished the Stalin myth, is Gorbachev planning to rehabilitate the de-Stalinizing general secretary?

[Adzhubey] I see these signs, but I do not know about anything else. I believe that sooner or later Khrushchev will receive his due. I have waited over 20 years and will continue waiting.

[Mauro] NEW TIMES has written that Khrushchev went down in history for his "secret report" on Stalin's crimes, and that he remains in history because that act eliminates all his errors. Is that not a reappraisal?

[Adzhubey] It is undoubtedly the start of a reappraisal. Above all it is the truth. I know exactly in what way the secret report is Khrushchev's offspring, and his alone. He did not prepare it with anyone: He prepared the paperwork on his own and in mid-congress informed the others: This report must be read out. There was talk of disputes and arguments within the Presidium but I know there was a fight to the death. Not only Khrushchev but someone else too told me that at the end Molotov attempted a final compromise, proposing a kind of "judicial solution." Comrade Khrushchev, do not read out that report, Molotov said. We will find a formula for invalidating Stalin's trials and the party will understand us.

[Mauro] Do you know how Khrushchev replied?

[Adzhubey] He answered thus: I do not presume to be the one to read out the report. You do it, Mr Molotov. I will still speak, as a delegate. Khrushchev acted very decisively but actually he was fully aware that he was risking serious harm to himself. He confided to me that

even at the last moment, alone in his office, he wondered: to speak or not to speak? To tell all or not? He was well aware that when the congress heard his condemnation of the Stalinist crimes it would ask: And where were you, comrade?

[Mauro] Did he have an answer to that charge of shared responsibility?

[Adzhubey] Yes. In 1957 someone actually did shout at him from the floor: Where were you? He turned and replied: "Who said that? Will nobody stand up? Are you afraid? Very well, we too were afraid under Stalin." Basically it is the same remark that Boris Yeltsin made at the latest CPSU congress when talking about the Brezhnev era. The history of fear often repeats itself in our country.

[Mauro] However, that question from the floor 30 years ago remains unanswered: How did anti-Stalinism originate in the Stalinist Khrushchev? What is the genesis of the secret report?

[Adzhubey] I discussed it with him and have read all the conjectures made by historians and remain convinced that the Beriya episode was most important for Khrushchev—crucial. When Beriya was executed and the inquiry revealed the whole story of his dirty dealings and ghastly crimes, Khrushchev was deeply shaken. I do not mean that he was naive about Stalinism. There were arrests that bore his signature, of course he was in the know, and he believed in Stalin. But he was not aware of the full horror of Stalinism, did not feel involved. After Beriya he began to realize that he too had made his own contribution to that horror. Later he recounted that at that time he often visited the USSR Prosecutor's Office and encouraged investigators to carry on, not to hide anything any more, to end it.

[Mauro] How is it possible for the 1956 secret report to remain secret in 1988?

[Adzhubey] I cannot find an explanation. That report, with which even the Poles are now acquainted, will undoubtedly be published in our country too. But when? I cannot answer this because I cannot understand the logic of those who are still blocking it. But perhaps there is some logic: It is the inability to really come to terms with our past. Thus the past continues to exist in the present and everything here is more complicated than elsewhere.

[Mauro] Why is the country that stands up to Stalin's ghost afraid of Khrushchev?

[Adzhubey] I am tempted to say that it is because the people who got rid of him—Gromyko, Solomentsev, and Shcherbitskiy—are all still there in their same posts. But the fact is that this is a country that has been brought up on fear. I myself was afraid for my children until a few years ago. Brezhnev was still afraid of Khrushchev in 1971, when he had the cemetery closed on the day of his funeral and had a notice displayed on the gate: "Maintenance Work Today." Basically Khrushchev was still afraid when he swore at Pasternak and criticized Grossman. Unfortunately, in our society the reserves of fear are never exhausted.

[Mauro] Was Khrushchev not afraid at the time of the failed coup in 1957?

[Adzhubey] He said that at that time everything hung by a thread. Molotov was very strong within the party and throughout the country and Molotov hated him. "That peasant Nikita," he told my wife and me one day, "should concern himself with corn and potatoes, not missiles and politics." I am sure that if the 1957 coup had succeeded, with Molotov in Khrushchev's place, there would now still be two sarcophagi in the Lenin Mausoleum and we would have Grishin instead of Gorbachev as Kremlin chief.

[Mauro] Why did Khrushchev not succeed in thwarting the 1964 conspiracy to dethrone him?

[Adzhubey] Because he failed to recognize Brezhnev's ambitions. He knew that he could not depend either on him or on Suslov and relied, rather, on Kosygin. He did not imagine a conspiracy, however. Before leaving for a vacation in Crimea, he complained to Podgornyy about Ignatov, a leader who went around talking about the post-Khrushchev era. He asked Podgornyy: What is this nonsense? His mind was at ease when he set off, however. In fact he was prompt enough to say that the time had come to make way for young people. I still believe, however, that he was not planning to retire. For him, too, power was too sweet for him to be able to leave it.

[Mauro] When did he realize that he had been defeated?

[Adzhubey] He inferred something from Brezhnev's cool telephone call asking him to return to Moscow. The full realization struck him when he saw there was only one man awaiting him at the airport—KGB chief Semichastnyy.

[Mauro] When did you next meet with him after his ouster?

[Adzhubey] That very evening, as soon as the Presidium meeting was over. The whole family was waiting for him at his home: There was rada and myself; his son, Sergey; and his wife, Nina Petrovna. We were very restless. He arrived, shut himself in his study, and would not come out. Then he opened the door and said to the head of his guard: "Inform my dentist that I will visit him tomorrow morning." "But," the policeman replied, "there is a plenum tomorrow..." "I am going to the dentist," Khrushchev interrupted. Only later did he reveal to us that Brezhnev, Podgornyy, and Suslov had previously planned it all: "They had already agreed on everything."

Then he shut himself up again in his room. Mikoyan, who had accompanied him, took his hat and before leaving turned to me and said: "Your friend Shelepin heaped dirt on you today."

[Mauro] Was Khrushchev distraught?

[Adzhubey] Not that evening. He stood fast. After the plenum he did collapse, however. I was a Central Committee member and watched from the floor: I too felt ill. That evening, however, sitting down with Rada at this very table, she told me that perhaps it was better that way. We realized that things were going badly, that Khrushchev was complicating matters himself, and that his popularity was declining by then. It was difficult to admit, but the Khrushchev era was over.

[Mauro] There is no official assessment, but what is your own private assessment?

[Adzhubey] I will tell you just one thing: Gorbachev's reforms are our only hope at present. However, the Napoleonic guard that now supports restructuring emerged from there, from the breach opened up by the 20th congress.

[Mauro] Are you saying that Khrushchevism paved the way for Gorbachevism?

[Adzhubey] I am saying that we start taking stock not with Stalin's death, which was a natural event, but with Beriya's execution, which was a political turning point. Without Beriya's elimination there would have been no 20th congress. And I am sure that without the 20th congress there would have been no 27th congress—the congress of restructuring.

[Mauro] What does Khrushchev's family now ask of Gorbachev?

[Adzhubey] Nothing. Khrushchev was neither executed nor sentenced: He was retired. So it is not a matter of rehabilitation. It is this silence which must surely end some day. My children, the children of Khrushchev's daughter, demand that their grandfather be granted justice so that books can say that he worked for socialism.

[Mauro] Is it not absurd that Josef Stalin, the enemy, is still in Red Square whereas Khrushchev, the de-Stalinizer, is exiled in death at Novodevichye?

[Adzhubey] It is strange, but perhaps it is a good thing. Khrushchev did not want Red Square to become a cemetery. He is all right where he is. People are free to visit him.

[Mauro] Do you mean the family would oppose moving Khrushchev's tomb to the Kremlin?

[Adzhubey] Yes, we do not want that. He will remain where his country's history put him.

History of 'Georgian Incident' Detailed

WA18300400 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Aug 88 p 3

[Article by A. Ilin, PRAVDA correspondent: "The Georgian Incident"; boldface as published]

[Text] **Today, at the start of revolutionary perestroyka, the need for further improvement of national relations, strengthening the friendship among the peoples of our country and surmounting shortcomings in international upbringing is felt particularly urgently.**

The work "*V.I. Lenin: 'Vmeste i Naravne,'***"** [V.I. Lenin: "Together and Equal"] which was drafted jointly with the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, edited by Academician G.L. Smirnov (PRAVDA, 8 July 1988) dealt with the history of the founding of the USSR.

Today the "Page From History" describes one of the dramatic events of that time: "The Georgian Affair." Participating in the discussion with PRAVDA correspondent A. Ilin were V.V. Zhuravlev, deputy director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, professor, doctor of historical sciences, and A.P. Nemarokov, senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of USSR History, candidate of historical sciences.

Reason for the Outbreak of the Conflict [subhead]

We concluded our last talk with the story of the First Congress of USSR Soviets. As you know, the congress proclaimed the founding of the Fraternal Union of Soviet Republics, based on the Leninist principles of "together and equal...." However, readers K. Ochkasov from Moscow, M. Gumenyan from Ivano-Frankovsk and many others justifiably remind us that shortly before the congress there was a drastic aggravation of the conflict in the Transcaucasus, the so-called "Georgian incident," which is quite fleetingly mentioned in our publications. Obviously, this should be described in greater detail, in addition to what was already discussed in the talks "Together and Equal...." and "Lenin's Testament" (PRAVDA, 25 March 1988).

We can only agree with this. It is true that recently the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History held a special scientific discussion on topical problems of that time; the republic's newspaper ZARYA VOSTOKA printed (26 July 1988) a long and interesting article by G.K. Zhvaniya, doctor of historical sciences. So far, however, by no means has everything been told about the reasons and nature of this second conflict or why Vladimir Ilich Lenin so emotionally reacted to it. The "Georgian incident," and the events surrounding it led to a drastic worsening of Lenin's health, something which he himself mentioned to L.A. Fotiyeva.

Obviously, Vladimir Ilich ascribed exceptional importance to this.

Naturally, for the event we shall discuss could be described as exceptional: By the end of October 1922 the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee submitted its collective resignation. No such event had ever happened in party history.

Why the resignation? Let us look at the facts and let us reassemble the course of the development of events, starting with 24 July 1922, when the 11 points of the Foundations of the Transcaucasian Federal Union were signed. They were signed by A. Myasnikov, N. Narimanov, B. Mdivani and S. Kirov. Formulations were drafted which satisfied all parties and it appeared that the passions had cooled off. Nonetheless, the main thing remained: Practical differences, as viewed by Filipp Makharadze, on the question of "methods of approach to the masses."

In both 1921 and 1922 Makharadze reported to the RKP(b) Central Committee that in the Transcaucasus "the use of the methods of war communism had in peacetime played a fatal role: solving problems by means which had been applied during the period of the civil war." Particular tension developed for the reason that the aspiration of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee to undertake its independent study and evaluation and a critical attitude toward the pressure applied by the Transcaucasian Kraykom had all triggered Stalin's extreme irritation. He saw in this proof of the accuracy of his conclusions that the fear "to avoid 'insulting' the nationals" could trigger a division within the party "for the 'national' element does not work in the peripheral areas in favor of promoting unity among Soviet republics, while official independence is contributing to this fact."

The "explosion" took place on 19 October at the expanded plenum of the Tiflis committee. Georgian Communist Party Central Committee members K.M. Tsintsadze, M.O. Okudzhava, O.I. Kavtaradze and F.I. Makharadze made statements in which they greeted the resolution of the RKP(b) Central Committee Plenum on the founding of the USSR but, at the same time, announced that they were drafting a petition "relative to one item"—the Transcaucasian Federation. They considered it "unviable" in its old form, and the new form of the Transcaucasian Federation a retreat from the July agreements, erroneous. The members of the Georgian Central Committee called for discussing the possibility of the joining of the USSR by the individual republics.

This was immediately qualified "as an inadmissible violation of party discipline." Ordzhonikidze proclaimed that "the case will be submitted to the Control Commission and to Moscow." Assertions that the "upper crust" of the Georgian Communist Party is a "chauvinistic rot which must be immediately rejected" and that "we are fed up with taking into consideration the gray-bearded old men" (Makharadze had a beard—author) sounded quite insulting.

On the night of 20-21 October, at 2:55 am Moscow time, Kote Tskhitsadze, Silvestr Todriya, Lado Dumbadze, Parmen Sabashvili, Filipp Makharadze, Sergey Kavtaradze and Yefrem Todriya directly contacted VTsIK secretary Yenukidze and asked that the following be passed on to Kamenev and Bukharin: "The hopeless situation which is being created here, in Georgia, makes it necessary to bother you. We beg that the following be passed on to Comrade Lenin: We are convinced that your and his absolute decisions would put an end to the anarchy and dislocation which are now assuming a catastrophic nature."

Reporting the decision of the Transcaucasian Kraykom to relieve M. Okudzhava from his duties as Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary, they announced the intention of the Georgian Central Committee to submit its collective resignation. "We," the letter noted, "are placed in a position in which we are no longer able to assume responsibility. Therefore, finding no other solution, we have decided to make this public tomorrow, the 21st, at the plenum of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee."

"All of this," the appeal emphasized, "is the work of Ordzhonikidze, who uses persecution and intrigue as his main weapons against the comrades who do not kow-tow to him. It has already become impossible to live and work under his shut-your-trap system. Do we not deserve a better leader in the sense of a Marxist and a comrade, and are we doomed to being an object of petty tyranny?"

What is noteworthy is the inadmissibly sharp tone of this document. It is indeed difficult to believe that the accusations addressed at Ordzhonikidze, who is known as a worthy fellow worker of Lenin's, and who had done a great deal for the party, have any strong substantiations whatsoever. What was their reaction to this appeal in Moscow?

The insulting tone of the wording and the quick-tempered nature of the appeal are unquestionable and, naturally, unjustifiable. This triggered Lenin's sharp reaction, of which we will speak somewhat later. Yet it was as though this remained unnoticed by Stalin, clearly because he himself usually did not show any restraint in his speech.

In the morning after the information was received, Stalin interpreted this statement above all as a violation of party discipline: It was addressed to the members of the Central Committee, bypassing the Secretariat, and it was transmitted openly, in the clear, i.e., uncoded and unciphered. Furthermore, the statement called for considering the question of the separate joining of the Transcaucasian Republics of the Future Union, which would have required a revision of the decision of the 6 October

RKP(b) Central Committee Plenum. It was precisely thus that he characterized this document in his discussions with Lenin, Kamenev and Bukharin.

Obviously, this is what explains the coincidence between a number of expressions in the answering cables sent by Lenin and Kamenev joined by Bukharin: "amazement" at the unseemly tone of the note and the fact that it was received "not through the Secretariat of the Central Committee." However, as Kamenev and Bukharin noted, the consideration of the question of the Transcaucasian Federation fell within the competence of the RKP(b) Central Committee Plenum which was the sole authority which, if necessary, could revise it. Let us note that since this did not question the right of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee to formulate such an initiative, Vladimir Ilich did not touch upon this feature at all. Lenin's telegram does not say a single word of condemnation of the position taken by the Georgian Central Committee. He emphasized precisely the inadmissibility of the tone used in the declaration in characterizing Ordzhonikidze.

Generally speaking, an "exaggerated administrative aspect" was one of the features of Sergo, whom Lenin knew well and valued highly. Differences between him and the Georgian Party and Soviet leadership had been discussed as early as during the September meetings between Vladimir Ilich and Mdivani, Okudzhava, Dumbadze, Tskhitsadze and, naturally, Ordzhonikidze himself, whose shortcomings Lenin could see as clearly as his qualities. While condemning the administrative-command pressure and haste inherent in some leaders, Lenin also noted that it was precisely this that was the reason for accusations of "excessive crudity, sergeant-major attitude, insufficient scientific training, and so on." Vladimir Ilich was concerned that such actions may harm the party's authority.

In his answer to the Georgian Communists, Vladimir Ilich wrote: "I was convinced that all differences had been settled with the resolution of the Central Committee Plenum (referring to the October 1922 RKP(b) Central Committee Plenum—author), with my indirect participation but with the direct participation of Mdivani. That is why I firmly condemn the abusing of Ordzhonikidze and insist that your conflict be submitted in a decent and loyal tone for solution by the RKP Central Committee Secretariat, to whom I directly transmit your communication."

On 25 October F. Makharadze, S. Kavtaradze, K. Tskhitsadze, L. Dumbadze, P. Sabashvili, M. Okudzhava, M. Toroshalidze, Ye. Eshba and S. Todriya cabled the following to Vladimir Ilich: "... We sincerely regret the grief caused to you by the truly sharp tone in the telegram on the relationship between the Georgian Central Committee and the Transcaucasian Kraykom, as represented by Comrade Ordzhonikidze, and assure you that this was triggered by the excessively aggravated relations. We nonetheless emphasize that we fully approve of the resolution passed at the 6 October RKP Central Committee Plenum, about which a unanimous resolution was issued at the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum of 21 October. We have made an insignificant amendment: We ask the RKP Central Committee to review the matter of joining the Union by the republic (Georgia, the author) not via the Transcaucasian Federation, which still does not have its own Central Executive Committee and Sovnarkom, but individually. In our view, this is dictated by Georgia's domestic and international situation. The Transcaucasian Kraykom considered this petition of ours a violation of party discipline and issued a reprimand."

In not a single one of Lenin's articles, letters or notes written subsequently was their appeal considered as erroneous or as violating party discipline: The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee was not opposing the plenum's resolutions but requested that one of its items be reconsidered.

Worthless "Schemes" [subhead]

Stalin's approach was diametrically opposite. He openly urged Ordzhonikidze to take drastic measures and actually exacerbated the passions. In one of his coded telegrams he wrote: "We intend to put an end to the squabbling in Georgia and thoroughly to punish the Georgian Central Committee." This stance was manifested in the almost direct instruction "in my view, a firm line must be followed. All vestiges of nationalism must be uprooted from the Central Committee."

Asked whether Ordzhonikidze had received a copy of Lenin's telegram to the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee members, Stalin gave his own interpretation to Lenin's view: "... He is an enraged 'akeden' (as a result of this (Georgian)—author), and is displeased with the Georgian nationalists."

On 23 October Ordzhonikidze cabled Stalin: "In my view, they must be made to resign and a new Central Committee be formed." The next day Stalin agreed with a coded telegram: "Accept the request of the present Georgian Communist Party Central Committee concerning its resignation," bearing in mind the obvious inconsistency between it and "the task of the loyal and prompt implementation of RKP Central Committee directives."

Stalin noted, to use his own expression, "the scheme" with which the reaction in Moscow to the resignation of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee members could be the least "painful." In his thoughts, Makharadze "... could be made member of the Union Central Executive Committee Presidium, while Kavtaradze could be made a member of the Central Executive Committee or else a candidate member, and Filipp could be made something similar. With such a combination the recall of Tskhitsadze would not be noted by the outside world." A characteristic feature of Stalin's style

was also his frank wish that "it would be smart, furthermore, to break down the faction of the national communists by recalling Filipp from it." To a certain extent, the author of both "combinations" brought their author subsequent success as well.

It was only in such circumstances of intolerance and reciprocal rudeness that the heavy insults and even manhandling by Ordzhonikidze became possible. Ordzhonikidze struck A. Kabakhidze, who had called him "Stalin's ass." Such things are totally inadmissible in relations between communists.

By the end of November the RKP(b) Central Committee Politburo sent a special commission to Georgia, consisting of F.E. Dzerzhinskiy (chairman), D.Z. Manuilskiy and V.S. Mitskhevich-Kapsukas. V.I. Lenin abstained in the vote on the establishment of the commission, obviously not for the least reason that Stalin had included Manuilskiy instead of L.S. Sosnovskiy, party member since 1904, whose political position was more independent.

In the course of its work, aware of the declaration to the Central Control Commission, submitted by Kabakhidze, Stalin calmed Ordzhonikidze down, advising him "to check once again reports on the aggressive actions of the Georgians and to issue an official note on this matter signed by anyone familiar with the situation.... and then wait for orders from Moscow." He immediately emphasized "be watchful and do not exaggerate the danger."

In mid-December Dzerzhinskiy's commission submitted a report to the RKP(b) Central Committee Politburo in which the political line of the Transcaucasian Kraykom was approved in full, while the position of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, which had already resigned, was condemned. The accusations against Ordzhonikidze were considered inconsistent with reality. The commission ignored statements concerning the atmosphere of intolerance and cases of violations of ethical standards. It did not talk with the authors of the declaration and did not even mention the declarations in its report. In precisely the same manner it ignored the incident of manhandling, although it became public and was one of the charges leveled against Ordzhonikidze.

We already know that Vladimir Ilich was dissatisfied with the work of Dzerzhinskiy's commission and that the reports on its results triggered "most painful fears" in him. Lenin deemed necessary a further or a new investigation of the commission's materials and ascribed to Stalin and Dzerzhinskiy political responsibility "for all of this truly Great-Russian-nationalistic campaign." Clearly, he was well aware of the role which Stalin had played in this case.

Yes, this is unquestionable. Furthermore, he suspected that even prior to its departure from Moscow, the commission had already drafted its conclusion. The legitimacy of these fears was confirmed subsequently, in his talk with L.A. Fotiyeva and G.V. Zinovyev.

On 12 December 1922, on the very first day that Dzerzhinskiy returned from Tiflis he met with Vladimir Ilich. Later, in January 1923, Lenin was to tell Fotiyeva: "On the eve of the beginning of my illness Dzerzhinskiy spoke to me on the work of the commission and on the 'incident,' which affected me quite strongly."

Two very serious attacks were repeated on 13 December. The disease was progressing. "With a great deal of difficulty," the history of the disease shows, "Vladimir Ilich was talked out of addressing any meetings whatsoever and, for a while, to give up any kind of work. In the final account, Vladimir Ilich agreed, saying that as of that day he would begin to wind up his affairs."

"Needed... for the Congress" [subhead]

As early as 14 December, Lenin intended to dictate a letter on the national problem and the founding of the USSR. At that time, however, he was unable to carry out his intention. On the night of 15 December there was a serious worsening of his health. On 27 or 28 December, as part of a general list of subjects he included the topic "On the National Problem and On Internationalism (in Connection With the Latest Conflict Within the Georgian Party)."

On 30 December, on the day the USSR was founded, and almost precisely when the First All-Union Congress of Soviets opened, Vladimir Ilich dictated the beginning of his notes "On the Question of Nationalities or On 'Autonomization.'" Having dedicated all his strength, knowledge and talent of persuasion to the creation of a fraternal alliance among the peoples of our country, with his typical energy and passion he condemned efforts to promote the idea of "autonomization," and the violation of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

These Leninist notes were neither published at that time nor brought to the knowledge of the party's leadership. It was only on 16 April 1923 that Lenin's letter became known to the RKP(b) Central Committee Politburo; it was read to the individual delegations at the 12th Party Congress. Did Stalin and the other Central Committee leaders know of Lenin's attitude toward the results of the work of Dzerzhinskiy's commission?

I can confidently say that even if he was not fully informed, Stalin had obviously no illusions about it.

It was with an ulterior motive that he hastened to promote the approval of the report and the suggestions of the commission by the Politburo. On 25 January 1923, with a majority of abstentions, the decision was

made to issue to the guberniya and oblast party committees a special letter which, naturally, reflected Stalin's evaluations and his understanding of the heart of the matter.

Here is a characteristic detail: On the eve Vladimir Ilich had summoned Fotiyeva and instructed her "to ask Dzerzhinskiy or Stalin" for materials on the Georgian affair. Together with M.P. Gorbunov and M.I. Glyasser, she was instructed to make a detailed study of all the documents. The purpose was to submit a report to Lenin who, as recorded by Fotiyeva, "needed this for the party congress." It was at this point that she noted in the Diary of Secretaries on Duty that "he obviously was unaware of the fact that this problem had been submitted to the Politburo."

Until the beginning of February Vladimir Ilich regularly asked whether the materials he needed had been received and, on every occasion, the answer was negative. Stalin did not release them, referring to the need for a decision by the Politburo on this account. It was only on 1 February that, finally, permission to receive the materials was granted.

On 6 February Stalin issued an order to M.I. Glyasser, through his assistant, Nazaretyan: Immediately acquaint Lenin with the letter issued by the Central Committee to the guberniya and oblast committees in connection with the 25 January Politburo resolution on the Georgian affair, and with the letter on the USSR Constitution. After Glyasser had reminded him that the physicians had forbidden to inform Lenin about current affairs and that the overall report for Vladimir Ilich based on the materials of the Dzerzhinskiy commission would be ready only in 3 weeks, Stalin informed her that this could wait a little but that Lenin had to be informed on the Georgian matter only along with the presentation of the documents he had indicated.

We know that Trotsky too found himself involved in this conflict. Why was it that Lenin turned precisely to him with a request to become the defender in the Georgian case?

The answer to this question is found in the documents which we shall present later. For the time being, let us go back to the time when Lenin decided to find out for himself about the situation concerning the "incidents" and the materials of the Dzerzhinskiy commission.

In instructing the Sovnarkom secretary to draft a report for him on the Georgian affair, Vladimir Ilich, as always, clearly listed the questions of interest to him:

1. Why was the former Georgian Communist Party Central Committee accused of deviationism?

2. What was it charged with in terms of violation of party discipline?

3. What were the reasons for charging the Transcaucasian Kraykom of suppressing the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee?

4. What were the physical means used for such suppression ("biomechanics")?

5. The line (of the RKP(b) Central Committee—author) followed in the absence and the presence of Vladimir Ilich.

6. The attitude of the commission. Did it consider exclusively the charges leveled against the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee or also those leveled against the Transcaucasian Kraykom? Were the biomechanics considered by the commission?

7. What is the current situation (the electoral campaign, mensheviks, suppression, national discord)?

It is thus that Lenin drew attention to the crucial problems, familiarity with which was necessary in order to be able to formulate his own judgment.

On 14 February Fotiyeva noted: "Vladimir Ilich's instructions are the following: Indicate to Solts (at that time member of the RKP(b) Central Control Commission Presidium—author), that he was on the side of the insulted (reference to A. Kabakhidze, who had submitted a declaration to the Central Control Commission—author). Let anyone of those who have been insulted know (in this case the members of the former Georgian Communist Party Central Committee—author) that he was on their side.

"Three aspects: 1. There should be no fights. 2. Concessions are needed. 3. One should not compare a big to a small state.

"Did Stalin know this? Why did he not react?

"The label 'deviationists,' for deviations toward chauvinism and menshevism proves that the same type of deviation exists among the great-power supporters."

On 3 March Vladimir Ilich received a report note on the conclusion reached by Gorbunov, Fotiyeva and Glyasser on the materials gathered by the commission on the Georgian conflict. They had been typed in such a way as to make Vladimir Ilich's work easier. The text had been broken down into several separate sections and their titles were consistent with the questions asked by Lenin. The conclusion was written on the right margin of the main text, which had been left wide for that purpose. A number of additional documents were appended, directly related to the matter, as follows:

1. Fotiyeva's notes to the effect that according to Solts's investigation, the statement drafted by A. Kabakhidze, addressed by her to Vladimir Ilich, had gone to the Central Control Commission.

2. On Solts's advice, instead of the declaration itself, a copy of the letter written by A.I. Rykov was being attached, as he had witnessed the incident which had taken place in Ordzhonikidze's apartment in Tiflis. Rykov admitted not to have heard what Kabakhidze had said but claimed that the insult was personal.

3. The letter by M. Okudzhava reported yet another very tense discussion with the head of the Transcaucasian Kraykom.

4. A statement by K. Kakhabadze, stating that Ordzhonikidze had asked him to speak out against Mdivani, calling the latter an "innkeeper."

5. Originals of the personal explanations by Ordzhonikidze were available, rejecting all accusations, proclaiming them to be lies born of factionalism.

6. An idea of the mood prevailing in the Central Committee in the absence of Vladimir Ilich was found in the record of a conversation between L.A. Fotiyeva and G.Ye. Zinovyev:

"Sergo went too far and instead of stopping him, Stalin supported him.

"Twenty percent of the blame is Sergo's.

"... Had it been not for the authority of the Central Committee, Makharadze would have had a majority in the party (referring to the majority in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee—author).

"A compromise is planned (the three with St.) [as published].

"The authoritative comrades Kuybyshev and Bukharin or Kamenev will be sent at their congress (of the Georgian Communist Party, author).

"Disagreeing with Ordzhonikidze's line were Zinovyev, Trotsky, Bukharin and Kamenev (uncertain).

"A compromise was to let some of the deviationists come back (previously sent to Georgia—author).

"Zinovyev: Ordzhonikidze must be left where he is.

"Stalin: He could be sent for a year to Turkestan."

After studying the materials, and realizing that his attendance in the proceedings of the Central Committee plenum, planned for the end of March, was problematical, on 5 March Vladimir Ilich Lenin dictated the following letter to L.D. Trotsky:

"Dear Comrade Trotsky! I would be very grateful to you to become the defender in the Georgian case in the party's Central Committee. The case is now being "prosecuted" by Stalin and Dzerzhinskiy and I cannot rely on their impartiality but even quite the contrary. If you would agree to take up the defense I could relax. If for some reason you do not agree, return to me the entire file. I will consider this a refusal on your part.

"Best comradely greetings, Lenin."

It is believed, however, that, referring to ill health, Trotsky did not assume any obligations in this matter.

This is not entirely the case.

Lenin's letter was read to Trotsky on the phone by M.A. Volodicheva, assistant secretary of the Labor and Defense Council and the Sovnarkom. It was she who recorded his answer according to which, because of ill health, he was unable to assume this obligation. Nonetheless, Trotsky immediately added that since he hoped to recover soon, he asked "that these materials be sent to him (if no one else needs them) to study and, should his state of health allow it, he would read them." Furthermore, Volodicheva recorded the following: "He said that he was totally unfamiliar with the documents, that he had spoken with Makharadze and Mdivani and heard Ordzhonikidze at the Central Committee plenum and that although he may have had some doubts, he had become convinced that major errors had been made."

Also worth quoting is the text of Trotsky's and Glyasser's notes made at the February 1923 RKP(b) Central Committee Plenum:

"Glyasser: Comrade Trotsky! You said during the debates on the national problem that if you had any doubts in making a decision on the Georgian conflict (in reference to the resolution of the January 1923 Plenum—author) now you think that this decision was erroneous and that the line taken by Ordzhonikidze in the Caucasus was the wrong one. Have I understood you correctly?

"Trotsky: I do not understand at all why you raise this question: Are we recording the debates? What I said was roughly the following: If I had any doubts on the accuracy of Ordzhonikidze's policy and the Politburo resolution, now such doubts have strengthened a hundredfold (after Ordzhonikidze's speech)."

This small original document, which was kept in Lenin's files, explains why Vladimir Ilich was forced to turn to Trotsky to act as the defender in the Georgian case: His views on this matter, expressed at the two Central Committee plenums (January and February) were known to Lenin and Vladimir Ilich could rely on his active support.

According to Trotsky's statement, which was distributed among the members of the RKP(b) Central Committee Politburo in the early morning of 16 April 1923, on 5 March he had received a note dictated by Vladimir Ilich

Lenin "On the Problem of Nationalities or on 'Autonomization'." This was an outline of the speech which, obviously, Lenin intended to deliver at the 12th party congress.

Having made a "copy of this article as being of essential significance," in his own words Trotsky took its ideas "as the base of my own amendments to Stalin's theses (adopted by Comrade Stalin) and for my article in PRAVDA on the national problem."

The theses mentioned here were drafted by Stalin for the 12th party congress. They dealt with the national aspects of party and state building. Having exaggerated the danger of deviations—petit bourgeois, and menshevik in the local areas and of national liberalism in the center—Stalin deliberately omitted any indications about the danger of great-power chauvinism, which was manifested most clearly in his own aspirations for excessive centralization and for the establishment of an administrative-command management style.

The February 1923 RKP(b) Central Committee Plenum, which took Stalin's theses as a base, noted their underdeveloped programmatic part, and the absence of indications of the seriousness of the negative influence on relations among Soviet peoples of any manifestations of great-power chauvinism. The need was emphasized to provide a short survey of practical solutions to the national problem within the party and the Soviet state authorities.

Let us note that differences on the national problem existing between Trotsky and Stalin also served to aggravate the personal struggle between them. This, however, is a different topic.

What was Stalin's reaction to Lenin's criticism? What conclusions did he draw? No common viewpoint may be found on such problems even among the specialists. The idea that Stalin had totally accepted Lenin's instructions and efficiently implemented them subsequently is still prevalent among many people who have secondhand familiarity with those events.

All of this has absolutely no relation to the truth. Lenin was unable to carry out to the end the struggle against the administrative-command management style which was being established, in the course of which "political accusations" became the legal standard and rudeness and malice usual traits in describing dissidence. He was prevented by his illness. Although, on the basis of collective decisions, the RKP(b) Central Committee substantially corrected Stalin's approaches to problems of national-state building, during the 1920s and subsequently Stalin held on to a rigid line, constantly using the label of nationalism. His mistakes are being felt to this day.

Forced because of Lenin's criticism to make concessions in the "Georgian affair" (restoring some of the old members of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee to the new Central Committee, returning to the republic several previously recalled comrades, signing a special agreement which took their demands into consideration) later, in the 1930s, Stalin cruelly dealt with Mdivani and the other leaders whom he punished.

On the Principles of Internationalism [subhead]

In analyzing the "Georgian incident" in our present talk, there was repeated emphasis of the respect and tactfulness displayed by Lenin toward national feelings, and his sharp condemnation of great-power chauvinism. The impression may develop that Vladimir Ilich ascribed far less significance to the struggle against manifestations of nationalism.

It was already pointed out here but, obviously, it is necessary to mention it once again: Lenin approached problems of nation-state building and the creation of a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from the positions of socialist internationalism, which is incompatible with chauvinism or nationalism. Vladimir Ilich firmly supported the voluntary unification of republics and the steady observance in practical policy of the rights of nations to self-determination and the solution of all problems on a democratic basis, without ordering or bureaucratic methods. As to his attitude toward the national problem, no doubt is possible here: Lenin was always irreconcilable in principle toward any of its manifestations, as conflicting with the humanistic ideals of socialist society and in this area he admitted no concessions. Suffice it to reread Lenin's familiar articles on the national problem to realize this yet once again.

Incidentally, in his talks with Mdivani and other Georgian leaders, in September 1922, Vladimir Ilich uncompromisingly pointed to them the real errors and patiently corrected comrades, cautioning them against exaggerating the national aspect to the detriment of the international one and the interests of cooperation among fraternal republics.

Let us not forget something else as well: The events discussed here took place at a time when the new nation-state formation was being created: a union of equal republics which, according to Lenin, should be based "on full trust, on the clear awareness of fraternal unity and total voluntary accord." It is entirely understandable why he was so concerned and embittered by the violations of such principles, committed in the Georgian conflict, and scorn for the fact that in a problem such as the creation of the Union the greatest possible patience and caution must be displayed "in order not to spoil things, not to trigger mistrust, not to let mistrust develop...."

The 12th RKP(b) Congress, which was held in 1923, earmarked in its general lines a program for the governmental structure of the USSR, based on equal rights and obligations of Union republics both in relations among themselves as well as toward the central authority of the Union. The first Soviet constitution was ratified at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which was held in January 1924; it determined the creation of a single Union state as a federation of sovereign Soviet republics. The voluntary nature of the unification was emphasized by reserving the right to freely leave the Union and having an open access to it by all existing and newly established Soviet republics.

The competence of the Union government included problems of foreign policy, foreign trade, finance, building the Armed Forces, railroads and communications. All other problems were to be resolved by the governments of the Union republics. The USSR Central Executive Committee consisted of two equal chambers: the Council of the Union, which was elected at a congress of all delegates, and the Council of Nationalities, elected by delegates representing each Union and national autonomous entity. The adoption of the first constitution of the USSR marked the completion of the initial stage of the major and difficult work headed by the party in creating and strengthening a Union state in the interest of all nations and nationalities in the country.

In your view, what lessons could be drawn from these events? Are they important in terms of the present, for nearly 8 decades has passed since?

The history of the founding of the USSR and Lenin's approach to the solution of the difficult problems of national relations are, unquestionably, very instructive. Naturally, we live in different times and a great deal of that which at that time people were puzzling over seems today self-evident. Incidentally, this convincingly proves the viability of the Leninist principles of national policy, which have withstood the test of time.

The path we have covered also proves that one must always be exceptionally attentive when it comes to problems of national relations and always protect and develop the Leninist principles and strengthen our friendship. Everything here is important: concern for the economic progress of each republic, increasing its contribution to the single national economic complex, and paying attention to social problems and to the development of cultures and national languages.

It is not without a purpose that the 19th all-Union party conference passed a special resolution on the national problem; it plans the holding of a CPSU Central Committee Plenum, upgrading the role of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet and developing other means aimed at improving the political system of our society. It is unnecessary to prove that the lessons of history could turn out to be exceptionally useful in this matter.

This is the purpose of our present study of the "Georgian incident." Naturally, it is important to restore justice in the case of those who suffered from Stalin's arbitrary behavior. But, let us repeat it, the main thing is to draw from such knowledge practical conclusions in order to be able to solve today's problems and to strengthen the friendship among the people of the USSR, at the origins of which stood Vladimir Ilich Lenin.

Briefs

Icebreaker Returns From Arctic

The atomic icebreaker Sibir will arrive in Murmansk today, having spent 3 months operating in the Arctic waters, during which time it escorted tens of ships with cargo to Pevek, Dudinka, Khatanga and other ports of the Arctic Ocean. It also recently evacuated people and equipment from the SP-29 station. [Summary] [*LD0109031588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 31 Aug 88 LD*]

Economic

Reader Voices Concern Over Share-Owning

PM3108132988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 20 Aug 88 p1

[Letter from P. Lyakhovskiy, student at the Kherson Industrial Institute, under the rubric "What Worries Us?": "Are Shares Compatible With Socialism?"]

[Text] With the transfer to economic accountability and self-financing, enterprises and rural economic units are being faced with the serious issue of liquidity. They are resolving this problem in different ways. One solution has been to issue shares, which is being talked and written about a great deal lately. But, in my opinion, before we make the move to this kind of system, we should give serious thought to this question: Is the idea of owning shares really compatible with socialism?

A share is a security attesting that the shareholder has made a definite investment and allowing him to receive a certain percentage of the enterprise's income. Issuing shares may ensure a rapid flow of cash into the enterprise funds, which can then be used for production development, housing construction, the services sphere, and so forth.

But the widespread development of this form of financing threatens to cause a whole series of problems. It would be naive to assume that the main bulk of the shares will be bought by ordinary workers. This may possibly be the case initially. But the majority of workers

do not have a great deal of ready cash. This means that the shareholders will mainly be people with a lot of money.

But enterprises are currently in a difficult position and they really need to attract finances. I suggest we use a special type of loan for this. Basically, it should be somewhere between a loan and a share. A person would buy a security—let us call it a "new share." Just like the "old" share, it would allow him to receive a certain proportion of the enterprise's income or a guaranteed percentage of the sum invested. However, the new shares must be distributed chiefly within the collective concerned. The shareholders would receive a profit that they themselves had generated, which would be in the form of a dividend. And if it was still necessary to sell shares to "outsiders," the enterprise must be given the right to buy back the shares from them at their face value either all at once or in separate holdings.